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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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PRICE TWO CENTS

S. L. P. CONVENTIONS

PENNSYLVANIA AND CUYAHOGA NOMINATE COMPLETE TICKETS.

Stirring Resolutions Adopted Declaring in Favor of S. T. & L. A. and the Party Press—The Class Struggle Defined and Bogus Socialists Denounced.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 8.—The State convention of the S. L. P. of Pennsylvania took place at Patton on Decoration Day.

The following ticket was nominated for the next State elections:

For Judge of Superior Court, E. R. Markley, of Braddock; Auditor General, L. K. Christof, of Patton; State Treasurer, A. A. Grant, of Scranton.

In view of the fact that an organization has appeared on the ballot at the last State elections under the name "Socialist" (through the treasonable neglect of "the logical center" to prevent them from doing it), and as that bogus Socialist party has succeeded with the help of the local Republican boss Quay and of the national Republican boss Hanna, through his labor lieutenant Michell, of the United Mine Workers, to obtain an official standing on the ballot for the next State elections, thereby preventing the S. L. P. from using the word Socialist. It was decided to appear on the ballot at next State elections under the name Revolutionary Working Class Party.

After adopting the enclosed resolutions, the convention adjourned with the comrades as determined as ever to fight the battles of the working class until our final emancipation is achieved.

L. Katz.
P. O. Logan Station.

RESOLUTIONS.
Resolutions adopted by State Convention of the S. L. P. of Pennsylvania, held at Patton, May 30, 1903.

"We, in convention assembled, congratulate the S. L. P. of the nation on the magnificent stand it took against the vicious attempt of the degenerates of capitalism to sidetrack the genuine Socialist movement into the kangaroo ash barrel. The true members of the Revolutionary working class, organized in the S. L. P., are confident that in the future, as in the past, we will overcome the obstacles thrown in our path by the enemies of the working class, be they Kangaroo, Kangley, Quay Lieutenants or other vermin that is trying to fasten themselves on the back of our fellow wage slaves.

We are confident that, with our press intact, the only press in the land that unflinchingly and persistently educates the working class on the lines of the class struggle, the final achievement of our goal is assured; and the final emancipation of our class and not temporary advantages of Fakirdom is what counts with us.

"The convention hereby points out to the members of the S. L. P. the necessity of doing our utmost to uphold the S. T. & L. A. The Socialist spirit must dominate and the principle of class struggle must guide the every day manifestations of the class struggle, if Socialism is to be enthroned on the ruins of capitalism. The S. T. & L. A. being the only economic organization whose object it is to achieve the above end, it therefore is the only economic and potent factor of progress in the labor movement.

Resolved, That we see in the upbuilding of the circulation of the party press the best, if not the only, way of building up the S. L. P., and we instruct the incoming State Committee to direct all available energy into that channel.

Cleveland, June 7.—The Cuyahoga County Convention of the Socialist Labor Party was held at 336 Ontario street, Cleveland, Ohio, on June 7, 1903.

P. C. Christiansen was elected chairman and James Matthews, secretary. The following committees were elected: On Resolutions, Adam Mitchell, John D. Goerke and James Rugg; on Nominations, Fred Brown, Joseph Reiman and William A. Zillmer.

While the committees were out John Kircher addressed the body on the Ohio Kangas convention.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following resolution, which was adopted as read:

RESOLUTIONS.

The Socialist Labor Party of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in convention assembled declares itself in full accord with the principles and tactics pursued by the national organization, its official press and the trade union policy which pronounces the pure and simple organizations as a breastwork of capitalism, and supports the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as the only economic organization of wage workers that defends working class interests.
Is entering the campaign in this coun-

ty the S. L. P. holds forth its pledge to the working class and its mandate to its candidates in the following resolutions:

Whereas, capitalism condemns the working class to a wage slave existence, under which it is robbed of the major portion of the product of its toil and decrees that the capitalist class is justified in appropriating to itself the surplus value created by the former; and, Whereas, such exploitation is made possible only by the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by the few—a non-producing, parasitical class—whose material interests demand an ever-increasing profit, which cannot be realized without a corresponding decrease in wages, thereby giving to the untold wealth, to the other absolute poverty at hard toil, or enforced idleness, accompanied by misery, crime and vice and,

Whereas, all government to-day is based upon and strives for the perpetuation of this capitalist system of private ownership in the instruments of production and distribution; and as any political party whose principles and platform are in harmony with the present order of society is consequently hostile to the interests of the working class; therefore, be it

Resolved, That both the Republican and Democratic parties are representatives of capitalist interests; that any reform movement, whether in the shape of a political party or an economic organization, that promises relief to the working class, at the same time declaring itself in harmony with the capitalist system of production, and the class that profits thereby, is the joint product of ignorance and intrigue; and, be it further

Resolved, That the S. L. P. as the political organization of the working class holds the perpetuation of capitalism detrimental to the interests of that class, to progress, and civilization.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of Cuyahoga County to unite with us in the struggle to capture the political power of the county, State and nation from our economic enemy, now in possession thereof, in order that we may, with that power in hand, abolish the capitalist system by declaring the means of production and distribution social property.

We denounce the so-called Socialist party that has lately been organized in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party as a fraudulent endeavor to mislead the working class from the only path that leads to its emancipation.

Nominations.
The Committee on Nominations recommends the following as candidates to go upon the official ballot, which recommendation was concurred in: County Recorder, P. C. Christiansen; County Treasurer, John Heidenreich; County Commissioner, Fred Brown; State Senators, Paul Dinger, James Matthews, John Kircher and Richard Koeppl; Representatives, Joseph Reiman, Robert Zillmer, Edward Hauser, Charles Frank, Gustave Gehrman, James Rugg, William A. Zillmer, John Hanzely, Herman Stieg and Herman Sherbarth; Judge of Common Pleas Court, Harry Bratburd.

James Matthews, Secretary.

OH, SLAVES OF TOIL.

Air—"O, For the Swords."
(Irish Melodies.)

[Written for The People, by James Connolly.]

When Man shall stand erect at last
And drink at Wisdom's fountain,
He to the earth in scorn shall cast
The chains his limbs are bound in,
Then from his loins a race shall spring,
Fit peer of gods and heroes,
O, blest be they whose efforts bring
That day of freedom more near us.

CHORUS.

O, Slaves of Toil, no craven fear,
Or dread of fell disasters,
Need daunt ye now; then up and clear
The earth of lords and masters.

II.
Like brazen serpent raised on high
In Israelite tradition,
Our Cause to each believing eye
Brings health and ser-like vision.
We see the day when Man shall rise
And firm on Science building,
From Their's thick mast of fraud and lies
Strip all the specious gilding.

CHORUS.

O, Blest are they whom wind and tide
Are wafting Fortune's graces,
And blest the man whose blushing bride
Returns his rapt embraces,
And blest is he who has a friend
To shield his name when slandered,
Blest over all they who contend
And march in Freedom's vanguard.

CHORUS.

O, Slaves of Toil, no craven fear,
Or dread of fell disasters,
Need daunt ye now; then up and clear
The earth of lords and masters.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

STRIKE EPIDEMIC

ON THE PACIFIC COAST FOLLOWS THREATS OF LOCKOUT.

Labor Situation Serious—Mining Districts Report Renewed Troubles—Cemetery Boycotted—"Family Reunion" Arbitration for Carmen.

[Special Correspondence of The Daily and Weekly People.]

San Francisco, June 15.—The labor situation in California is becoming more serious as the weeks go by. Toward the end of last month it looked as though the lockout countermove of the employers might accomplish something.

But, of late, the strike and boycott epidemic has broken out again with renewed violence. Most of the manifestations, however, are of short duration. The Varnishers and Polishers were out one day, the can makers called for terms on the third day, the burlap and cotton bag workers are under arbitration, and so it goes on. Reports of new and renewed strikes come in from mining districts on all sides. In spite of the patriotic stand taken by the Building Trades' Council, several large building contracts have been withdrawn, the capitalists refusing to proceed while "Labor is in its present unsettled condition."

On the 6th inst. a boycott against the Cypress Lawn Cemetery was declared by the Cemetery Employees, Undertakers' Assistants, Hackmen's and Carmen's Unions. Five funerals were to take place the next day, but only two were completed, for when the first arrived at the cemetery, it was discovered that the handles had been removed from the biers and the newly dug grave filled with water. Later on the furnace in the crematory burst, injuring the men who were attempting to heat it. The unions deny any part in these proceedings, but the boycott continues.

The controversy between the United Railroads and the Street Carriers' Union, mentioned several times in the columns of The People, is still unsettled. Some time ago the matter was put into the hands of two arbitrators, President Mahon of the International Carriers' Union, and P. Colhoun, a representative of the company, who has come out from New York to settle the difficulty. These arbitrators, with their sub-committees worked so long and so pleasantly together that the local papers began to speak of their sittings as "family reunions," and the carmen, becoming suspicious of all this brotherly love, demanded a decision. Therefore on the 12th inst. the lawyers of both sides of the controversy presented their arguments to the two arbitrators who promptly disagreed.

Now it had been decreed, that, in case of such a disagreement, the arbitrators should themselves choose an umpire and accede to his decision. Each side, therefore represented a list of twelve names from which the umpire was to be chosen. Here again the arbitrators disagreed, and so the matter hangs on. Meanwhile, however, the men are working at the old rates.

The list of twenty-four names from which an umpire is to be chosen to decide upon the wages, hours, etc., of these working men, is an interesting study. It consists mostly of judges and lawyers, with a sprinkling of priests, one ex-governor, and one supposed representative of labor.

Special Fund.

As per circular letter September 3, 1901.

Previously acknowledged, \$7,173.07; J. R. Fraser, Dayton, O., \$50; Ed. Kanser, Cleveland, O., \$2.50; L. M. Troth, Cleveland, O., \$3; J. D. Goerke, Cleveland, O., \$2.40; L. Koessel, Cleveland, O., \$1; J. Blickendorfer, Cleveland, O., \$2.35; Chas. Frank, Cleveland, O., \$2.25; Dr. C. A. House, Auburn, N. Y., \$2; Chas. Davidson, St. Paul, Minn., \$1; Wm. Turner, Winnipeg, Can., \$30; H. Blower, Lowell, Mass., \$1; L. A. 345, San Francisco, Cal., \$2; J. Kleinberger, city, \$5.25; Section Grand Junction, Colo., \$10; Nels Anderson, Gladstone, Colo., \$5; Geo. Koenig, salary as treasurer L. A., \$90, \$2.50; K. Georgevitch, Chicago Heights, Ill., \$2. Total, \$7,219.02.

Section Providence.

The members of Section Providence will hold a section meeting in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, on Tuesday evening, June 30, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of taking a vote on Section Everett's proposition to separate the Socialist Labor Party from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. All members should attend this meeting.
James McGuigan, Organizer.

THE EMIGRANTS.

Why They Are Leaving Sweden—Will They Do Better Here.

Capitalism breaks all bonds; not those of relationship only, but also those of nationality, which some consider even more holy. Patriotism is killed where capitalism holds its orgies in a country's legislative and executive institutions.

This is true of Sweden in these days, perhaps to an even greater degree than of any other country. There is probably no other (in name) independent country which has relatively to its number of inhabitants such a big stream of emigrants pouring out over its boundaries as Sweden has to-day. And the fault must be sought in its short-sighted capitalist authorities.

Sweden is a poor country, but its capitalist rulers act as though the poor inhabitants had wells of wealth to draw from. They are heaping ever higher burdens of militarism and navyism; they are raising the taxes; they are exacting blackmail laws against the growing trades union movement, and are defeating all measures introduced in the legislative with a view to widen the utterly restricted franchise.

Knowing these facts the following vivid sketch, taken from a Swedish paper in Gothenburg, will gain in interest and will be better understood:

EMIGRANTS.

(From Ny Tid, May 27.)
Last Friday 700 young, strong, healthy people went away from old Sweden.

The big steamer was full of flower-adorned youth of both sexes. There was a family that had come from the fair Vaermland, from Goesta Berling's sunny land, and I had a talk with them.

"Behold," said the young fellow, who held his youngest offspring on his arm, closely reclined over the flowers of his chest, "soon there will be none left in our country place. The houses stand vacant, the gardens grow wild, the fields become deserts as of old. The axe-wieldings are followed by silence. You must understand, then, sir, that there is no pleasure in staying at home, when all others go away, or intend to go away. Poor old Vaermland, that is so beautiful."

Then I asked him why it was the people left in such masses.

"Oh, it is much that draws one off," he said, "relatives and loved ones that are thriving fairly well out there in America; the heavy taxes here in old Sweden, and then one can not get men either for the harvesting or cultivating without ruining oneself. Say, mister, do you think we would leave Vaermland if not forced by misery?"

I went further. Up on the fore-deck of the ship stood a young workman from the stone quarries of Bohuslaen.

"You see," he said, "my father was a fisherman and so was my father's father, and the father of my grandfather also, I think, so that the sea here at home and the mountains and the island and the reefs I have almost got into my soul, so horrible hard will it be to go away, but what shall a man do? Here I have submitted to slave work and trimmed stone for seven years, and now I haven't even got so much that I can marry. No, mister, don't say that it is wrong to leave this here country, where one gets nothing for one's work—twelve and thirteen hours a day I have been working—where one is not even sure of not being turned off for miserable scabs, where the wages are pressed down at the same time as the taxes are raised and the necessities of life raised in price by means of protective tariffs and such things—no, mister, the best thing to do is to go away."

And as I walked off he picked out a lily from the flowers on his chest and said: "I've got these flowers from Ann Marie, my best girl, you know—my girl, that will come along afterwards, when I send her a ticket, you understand?"
I did understand.

Away at the commander's bridge stood a young girl from a Halland factory.

"Why do you go away?" Well, it is because it is better there than here * * * Yes, for surely it is very bad here, mister, very bad. The factories take one's health and one's (Continued on Page 6.)

THE PEONAGE SYSTEM

READS LIKE A PAGE FROM THE DARK AGES.

Men Murdered—Dog Set on Escaping Women—One Man Kept in Bondage Three Years for Borrowing One Dollar—Officials on the Scheme.

Washington, June 20.—The Department of Justice has taken hold of the Alabama peonage cases made up by Warren S. Reese, the United States District Attorney for the Middle District of Alabama. Reese has been instructed to push them to the limit. Judge Thomas G. Jones, of the United States Circuit Court, in response to the request of the federal grand jury, on Monday gave his opinion that the contract law of 1901 is unconstitutional. That law is the source of nine-tenths of the peonage now existing in Alabama, and hundreds of persons are now undergoing involuntary servitude by reason of it. It is constructed with singular malevolence. It makes it a penal offense for a person who has contracted in writing to labor for or serve another for any given time, or any person who has by written contract leased or rented land from another for any specified time.

If afterward, without the consent of the other party and without sufficient excuse, to be adjudged by the court, he shall abandon his contract and take employment of a similar nature with another person without first giving him notice of the prior contract.

There is nothing in this law which, on the face, makes it applicable simply to negroes; but, as a matter of fact, the farm laborers of Alabama are almost without exception negroes, and the intent of the law is to furnish a legal means by which negroes may be held in involuntary servitude indefinitely. It is the universal practice in Alabama for farm laborers to enter into a year's contract with their employers. A negro having once entered into such contract must fulfill it to the letter. Should he not do so, and should he have any difference with his employer which would make his further continuance in employment out of the question, he would then be unable to secure employment elsewhere unless he should first inform his prospective employer of the prior contract. To give such information would prevent his securing further employment, as there is an understanding among all planters that no one of them will employ a laborer who has for any reason left the employ of another planter.

Through the operation of the law hundreds of negroes throughout the State have been convicted of a penal offense and have been condemned to imprisonment and fine. Being unable to pay the fine, they have been sent to convict farms, and have been kept there for years on various trumped up charges. Had it not been for the present agitation and for Judge Jones' decision hundreds of these ignorant unfortunates might be kept in servitude for years to come. It has been impossible to reach them under the State laws. Encouraged by Judge Jones' decision, the United States District Attorney will proceed to bring actions of habeas corpus to secure the immediate release of these negroes thus held.

The system of peonage carried on in Alabama, and in certain parts of Mississippi, Florida and Georgia, is worse than chattel slavery. Some of the tales told of this system are such that would only befit barbarism. Here are some of them:

Willie Ferrall was arrested at Dadeville, in Tallapoosa County. He was sent to the convict farm of Fitch Turner and put in the chain gang. He was held there until August, 1902, when he was killed with a spade by one of the overseers. It is charged that the man who wielded the spade was Allen Turner, a son of the man who owned the camp.

Hazel Slaughter, another convict, sentenced for a slight offense, ran away. She was caught by dogs and torn about the stomach. Her clothes were torn off by the hounds and she was taken back to the camp.

Another girl, who was sentenced for a short term, was killed or the second day of her imprisonment by one of the overseers.

A negro borrowed a dollar from a white man, promising to return it the next week. He failed to pay. The white man hailed him before a justice of the peace, charging him with obtaining money under false pretenses. He was sentenced to pay a fine of \$8 and costs—\$10 in all—or, in lieu of that, to suffer imprisonment for three months. A constable versed in the business offered to pay the fine on condition that the negro would consent to serve for three months on a farm in Tallapoosa County. This happened in Goodwater, Coosa County—twenty miles away. The negro consented. He went with the constable, who sold his right in him to the nephew of the proprietor of the convict camp at

Dadeville, Tallapoosa County, for \$10. The nephew made the negro enter a contract to serve a year. As the year was nearing an end he was induced by tricks to violate his contract. Then, to escape further punishment, he promised to work for another year. The nephew proceeded to sell this additional year's service to his uncle, who is proprietor of the convict farm, for \$50. He had had the negro's services for a year for nothing and \$10 to boot. Once on the convict farm his fate was sealed. He was kept there under close surveillance for eleven months, and then the guard was relaxed.

Now it is natural that the negro is just as eager for freedom a day or two before his confinement ends as he was at the beginning of the sentence. The negro attempted to run away, thinking he was not watched. He was caught and brought before a justice of the peace, who sentenced him to another fine, which he could not pay, or, in lieu thereof, imprisonment for another year. So he has to serve three years for borrowing \$1, which he failed to pay on the prescribed day. At the end of the third year another charge was trumped up. He was declared to have made an assault upon or to have resisted his jailer, and then another year was given him.

This is an actual case. Were it not for the interference of the federal officials this negro might have remained in servitude for the rest of his natural life, or as long as he was physically profitable.

Indictments have already been brought against twenty men, who are charged with complicity in the peonage cases. They are J. Fletcher Turner and John W. Peace, who own convict farms near Dadeville, Tallapoosa County; three brothers named Cosby, one of whom is a justice of the peace, the other two interested in convict farms; Robert M. Franklin, L. A. Grogan and W. J. Joyner, constables J. Y. Dunbar, a policeman at Goodwater, Coosa County; Jack Patillo and J. W. Haralson, who made affidavits falsely, accusing negroes of offenses which were to be brought before a justice of the peace; James M. Kennedy, a justice of the peace on Pace's farm, whose sole occupation seems to have been to sentence to additional terms of servitude negroes charged with violation of contracts; James H. Todd and Jesse Berry, guards on Turner's farm, and Allen Turner, son of the convict farmer, who also acted as one of the guards.

Turner and Pace are the worst offenders. They ran the convict farms, where they took negro convicts to work under contract with the State.

A negro would be dragged before the justice of the peace at Goodwater, where Patillo or Haralson would make affidavit as to his having borrowed money which he failed to pay, or some other equally "heinous" offense. Franklin or one of the other constables would be on hand to pay the fine imposed by the justice of the peace, on condition that the negro would agree to go over to Tallapoosa County to work it out. In Tallapoosa County, at Dadeville, the constable would sell the services of the negro to Pace or Turner for \$40, and the negro would then sign a contract to work for Turner or Pace a year. Near the end of the year another trivial charge would be trumped up, and on it Justice Kennedy would give the negro a sentence of a fine or imprisonment, which would result in his further imprisonment for a year.

Reichstag Election.

Berlin, June 18.—The total result of the recent Reichstag election was as follows:

	Elected.	Re-Elected.
Socialists	54	122
Center Party	88	36
Conservatives and Free Conservatives	37	53
National Radicals	5	65
Richter Radicals	7	24
Barth Radicals	7	11
South German Radicals	—	8
Poles	14	8
Alsations	6	4
Hanoverians	—	8
Danes	1	—
Anti-Semites	1	8

BEGINNING OF THE END.

Tobin and His Kangaroo Scabs Routed. Biggest Lynn Firm Gives Up Label.

(Special to The Daily People.)

Lynn, Mass., June 13.—Harney Bros., one of the largest of the ten stamp shops in this city, in which the cutters and stitchers have been on strike against the Tobin Boot and Shoe Workers' Union since Jan. 16 last, gave up the fight yesterday and surrendered the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

The strikers will return to work on Monday morning.

About one hundred and thirty cutters and stitchers came out of this shop. Rumor has it that at least one other of the large manufacturers will do likewise at the opening of next week.

It is the beginning of the end. The Boot and Shoe Workers and its Kangaroo scab furnishers are routed, horse, foot and dragon.
M. T. B.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

GOOD S. L. P. WORK

DONE BY STATE ORGANIZER VEAL IN COLORADO.

Infuses the Revolutionary Spirit Into and Wins Over a "Socialist" Local at Lafayette—Exposes the United Mine Workers' Corruption at Erie—Arrested on Fight for Free Speech at Boulder.

Denver, Colo., June 11, 1903.

To the Party in Colorado.
Dear Comrades: As I have of late been slaving nights to such an extent in the office that I could not even approximately meet the demands of my correspondence in an individual manner, I will send you this brief circular.

Comrade Veal arrived and made his first speech at the May-Day celebration, in Denver, on May 3. The celebration was a thorough success.

He spoke at two street meetings in Denver (the section has been holding meetings when the weather would permit and selling from \$1 to \$2.50 worth of literature per night), and the next Wednesday he went to Louisville, but did not get very much encouragement there, as the worst class manifested its revolutionary life.

Then Veal went to Lafayette, where he found good material. There was a kangaroo local there, some of whose members were considerably disgusted with their organization, and before Comrade Veal left they had declared that no more dues should go to the head fakirs of that party. Some of them have since been in Denver, and they are contemplating securing a speaker from here periodically, paying the speaker's expenses.

Then he went to Erie, where the conditions are very hopeful and he made a strong impression, going thoroughly into the history of corruption of the United Mine Workers' Union, with which its members there are much dissatisfied. Comrade Veal did not fail to show, either, the deceitful capitalist character of the Western unions.

Then he went to Boulder, where there is a branch of from forty to sixty members of the "Socialist Party," but Veal was arrested and jailed five days for the first speech. When his time expired we sent Comrade Vaughn to help him take advantage of the agitation of the workers caused by his arrest; and these two comrades of the S. L. P. went into Boulder and spoke to crowds of from 400 to 500 people, forcing the right of free speech where fifty of the S. P. were crouching, subjected, before the capitalist authorities. They put the S. L. P. upon its dignity in proper revolutionary style, and then came back to be here during the A. L. U. and W. F. M. conventions. Practically nothing could be done with the delegates themselves, except to arouse them until they were like a hornet's nest; and even the members favorable to us hardly dared to express themselves, but must go, like lackeys, and play the part pointed out by the leaders in order to keep their good favor. But, in spite of all that, some of them bought considerable literature.

These leaders of the unions and prominent members of the S. P. had just been conducting the big strike here, on as pure and simple a plan as Gompers himself could have done. Not a word of politics was heard, Coates and a couple of others going to the length of signing their names to a statement declaring "the strike and boycott the only weapon possessed by the working class for the betterment of their condition." They snarled under the criticism of the S. L. P., and at last, knowing Veal would be the foremost representative of the party in this State during the season, resorted to the dastardly method of going into their conventions behind closed doors, in executive session, and slandering his character as a member of the Western Federation of Miners. But there is no means of tracing the lie to its source. Every one of them refuses personally to father it. Two of them at different times made the statement at our street meetings, and both, when proof was demanded and they were offered our platform to give the proof from, refused to take it or even to give their names; but, right before the eyes of the crowd, they sneaked away like curs, under the scathing fire of Vaughan's denunciation of their contemptible, cowardly spreading of a lie whose very author is afraid or ashamed to be known.
Chas. H. Chase.

L. A. 342, Cleveland, O., Attention!
The next regular meeting of Forest City Alliance, L. A. 342, S. T. & L. A., takes place Wednesday, July 1, at eight p. m., at the office of Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung and Volksfreund, 193 Champlain street, third floor (first door west of Seneca street). Each and every one of the members should make it his duty to be present, as some very important business has to be transacted.
In the last meeting of the Local, held June 15, two new members, Louis Wettstein and Fred Gaffner, were admitted.
Richard Koeppl,
Recording Secretary.

THE TELEGRAPHERS

Labor is ever endeavoring to improve its economic condition, and, in so doing, repeats the mistakes of the past, though it enters upon their commission with an air of assurance and knowledge worthy of a better ending than the defeats so often attending it. The superficial "leader," bent upon immediate gain (too often his own), instead of permanent advantages, projects a form of organization that experience has demonstrated to be either insufficient or inefficient. Such a "leader" generally affords an insight into human nature and a capacity for practical effort that appear laughable when compared with the actual results achieved via his sterling genius.

At the present time, the commercial telegraphers are being agitated in the interests of an organization that differs in no particular from the trade unions of this country and Great Britain that have been repeatedly defeated by means of the injunction, the militia, and the internecine warfare peculiar to the modern form of "organized labor," or that have been manipulated to the advantage of the employer through arbitration and other devices, by their "leaders," owing to the erroneous and misleading principles underlying them. This organization of telegraphers is being formed by an individual who talks with the air of an oracle and says triumphantly: "We are the practical people," viz., one William Eastlake, who rejoices in the grandiloquent title of Grand Secretary-Treasurer of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America.

That the commercial telegraphers need an organization to promote their economic interests there can be no doubt. Despite their belief that they are aristocrats of labor, immune from the economic vicissitudes that befall other workingmen, and engaged in an occupation superior to that of other workingmen, the telegraphers are a poorly paid and hard-worked portion of the vast working class on which the present greatness of capitalism is reared in all its splendor.

The truth of this proposition is amply substantiated by the conditions and tendencies prevalent in commercial telegraphy. Wages, to begin with the most important thing first, range from \$5 to \$17.50 a week. This is not an extraordinary or exceptional wage. It certainly is not a cause for "chestiness" such as afflicts the aristocrat of labor.

What is worse, these wages are considerably lower than those paid ten years ago. During the decade mentioned wages have dropped about \$10 a month for men. The tendency is toward lower wages still, as is evinced in the constant employment of women in increasing numbers at even lower wages, they receiving at the most, \$15 a week, or \$10 a month less than men. These are exceptionally well paid women operators.

If we next consider the hours of telegraphers, they will be found hardly more favorable than wages. Telegraphers' hours are nine a day but it is a common occurrence for operators to work 15 or 16 hours a day, and to go eight, 10 or 12 hours at a stretch without food. The extra men especially receive more than their share of long hours. When business is slack, on the other hand, these "extras" are compelled to lounge about the waiting room for hours, to be finally turned away empty-handed, without having had an opportunity to work and earn their wages. Overtime is paid for at the rate of seven hours a day.

No consideration of the hours of telegraphers would be complete without mention being made of the greater amount of labor now compressed in a working day than formerly. It is no exaggeration to say that an operator has to work much faster for \$10 a month less now than he did ten years ago. And it can also be safely stated that work is growing more intense with every passing day and year.

One of the causes of this intensification of labor is the bonus system. Under this system a bonus of one cent is paid for every message handled over a certain number, the number varying from 200 to 325 a day, according to the wire and the character of the message, whether short or long, straight stuff or code. The bonus man, who is generally well paid, quick and expert, never loses any time indulging in the amenities of life or responding to the calls of nature. He has no time to say "Good morning" or engage in the occasional chat which affords such a relief from the strain of work. He is glued to his place in a frantic effort to increase his paltry pay at the expense of civility and health. When a bonus man is "out," that is, when he has reached the limit, stopped

work, or been relieved during dinner hour, his place is filled by a non-bonus man, who is inferior in ability and pay to the bonus man and expected to handle the same number of messages as the bonus man, though he, of course, does not receive the same wage in return for so doing. The bonus men are the pace-makers for the other operators. Ordinarily an operator works fast enough, but the bonus men show the company how much more work can be extracted from him. The operator is generally a "has-been" after five or ten years, but the bonus system gives him a chance to commit suicide in double quick time.

Right here it will not be amiss to point out that there is an extraordinary mortality among telegraphers, owing to the close confinement and constant concentration demanded of them. A report on this subject, issued in July, 1902, reads in part as follows:

"The average death rate from tuberculosis with the general mass of men is 13.8. Among telegraph operators it is 46.6, exceeding by 13.5 the mortality among molders. Other affections of the respiratory organs stand in this relation: General, 3.5; telegraph operators, 18.4, between fifteen and twenty-five years; 23.1 between twenty-five and thirty-five years, instead of 4.9; and 12 instead of 5.3. There is no denying the fact that it is a vocation fraught with danger; continuous nerve tension, mental concentration, an exhausting fixity of attention, congesting the operator's brain, engendering lung diseases and heart complications. We have seen more forms of insanity, brain strain, melancholia, paralytic dementia; more varied forms of paralysis, local and general; more severe neurasthenic conditions among telegraph operators than with all the rest of railway employees combined. This can be shown from the tabulated statements of over 300,000 sick employees. Hence, we view the telegrapher's vocation as the most dangerous in railway service. . . . They are free from accident, as in the transportation department, still there is proportionately greater mortality among them."

"Every one knows that the operator reads better with his ears than with his eyes. He carries out an essentially mental operation by using the nerves of hearing. This faculty is consequently highly developed in his case. In the ordinary work of reading twenty words a minute the telegraph operator must distinguish one hundred and fifty alternate strokes or intervals, and when there is a rush of work this figure can go as high as four hundred and fifty. There is also the work of transforming the sounds into visible symbols, or writing, which implies another mental process. And whereas the normal amount of varied sensory impulses per minute is one hundred and twenty, the telegraphist has to accomplish one hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty. Without taking extreme cases into consideration, it may be said that the sense of hearing in a telegraph operator is two and a half times more powerful than in an ordinary individual. Again, in telegraphy, the continuity of the nervous stimulation, the monotony of sounds, and the fixity of attention are further causes of exhaustion. It is found also that during forced work the telegrapher's breathing is affected, his heart's action precipitated and his brain congested."

Though this report refers to the bad mental and nervous results attending the work of railroad telegraphers, its conclusions apply with more force to the work of commercial telegraphers. The latter are more confined than the former, having less variation in their work and are compelled to give closer attention to their work than do the former. There is practically no other difference between the two, except that of method and routine, both of which can be mastered by the operator going from one branch into the other.

It stands to reason that this mortality is not decreased, but increased, by the evils of the bonus system, all of which tend to accentuate rather than diminish the close confinement and constant concentration which is at the bottom of the mental, nervous and physical disorders that are found to be more prevalent among telegraphers than among the workingmen in other trades.

From all of the foregoing it will be seen that low wages, irregular hours, intensified labor and an abnormal mortality constitute the lot of the modern telegrapher.

Despite the aristocratic beliefs of the telegraphers regarding their calling, telegraphy is not hard to learn. It is simple and mainly requires practice and endurance. Telegraphers are mostly recruited from the boys and girls in knick-

erbockers and short skirts, who are employed on the "check" force; that is, in checking messages and distributing them from one wire to another. These boys and girls become familiar with the technical requirements and routine of telegraphy, and, naturally, graduate from the ranks of the "check" force into those of the operators.

The simplicity of telegraphy is due to invention. This it is that has made possible the employment of cheaper labor, especially women and girls, the majority of whom receive from \$5 to \$10 a week. The Wheatstone instrument contributed greatly toward this end. Typewriters made first-class receivers of many who could never become rapid penmen. And now sending machines of various kinds are being introduced, and threaten in time to do away with the skill required to be a first-class sending operator.

Telegraphy, as is well known, is thoroughly monopolized; in fact, it has the honor of being classed among the so-called "natural monopolies." The principal companies in New York city are the Postal Telegraph, at 253 Broadway, and the Western Union, at 193 Broadway. Both are housed in magnificent structures owned by themselves.

The Postal employs about 500 telegraphers. The force of the Western Union is probably three times as large. Both of these places are, in the parlance of the workingman, slave pens, owing to the exacting toil necessary to retain a position in either. There is an opinion prevalent among the telegraphers that the Postal is more friendly disposed toward them than is the Western Union. This is due to the fact that the men active in the formation of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America are employed in the Postal Telegraph, while the Western Union discharges an operator as soon as it learns of his membership in the union. The Western Union, having the larger number of positions, is master of the situation. The Postal Telegraph coddles the officers of the union and allows the Western Union to take care of the rank and file. What is the use of the Postal Telegraph opposing the union? By tolerating the union the Postal Telegraph is able to pick up the good men that the Western Union discharges, and also get cheaper labor. The employees of the Postal are more submissive since the union was organized than formerly, because they realize that if they offend the Postal and lose their jobs the Western Union will not employ them. Some of the poor dupes even go so far as to say that they have no grievance against the Postal. They do not understand that the Postal is a capitalist corporation, with as ferocious an appetite for dividends as any capitalist corporation in the world. Mackay, who owns most of the stock, like all other capitalists, would rather give up 38 of his 39 articles of Christian faith than one-thirtieth of his income, to paraphrase Marx. Higher wages and shorter hours for telegraphers means smaller dividends for Mackay. That he will not grant the former and put up with the latter is evident from his opposition to even a fifty cents a week increase when it is necessary to pay fifty cents a week more to secure a reliable operator. It is also evident in the way in which he insists that operators perform the duties of porters by carrying their typewriters to newspaper offices, just to save a few paltry pennies. This is the generous capitalist who is going to treat the operators right, and he will treat them "right," by getting all the work out of them for the lowest possible wages.

This brings us back again to the question of organization. Near the beginning of this article the statement was made "That the commercial telegraphers need an organization to promote their economic interests there can be no doubt," but when we have said this we have not said all that can be said on this point. The fact that organization is necessary is no reason for organization on lines that will contribute to the undoing of the telegraphers; that, instead of improving their condition, will make it worse. True organization is what is wanted, or none at all. What is a true labor organization? A true labor organization is one that aims to free labor from its character as a merchandise by abolishing the capitalist system which makes it such.

Labor is bought and sold like all other commodities. We have a beef, a fish, a fruit and a "labor market." Like all other commodities, labor's price—wages—is regulated by the law of supply and demand. This supply and demand of labor is affected by the introduction of machinery—we saw how invention in tele-

graphy has made it possible to augment the supply of telegraphic labor many fold. It is the tendency, under capitalism, for the supply of labor to exceed the demand, note how strikes are broken by "scabs"—by the unemployed—all over the country. Recall how they assisted in breaking the strike on the Western Union in this city in 1883!

Now, in all the economic struggles of labor we notice the same clash of interests between the buyers of labor—the capitalists—and the sellers—the workingmen—that we notice between the buyers and sellers of all commodities. The one wishes to secure cheaply what the other would sell dearly; hence we have strikes, blacklists, lockouts and boycotts, with the employer behind one and the employee behind the other. We have, in other words, a positive demonstration of the conflicting interests of capital and labor! We have a class struggle.

Recognizing the commodity character of labor and the class of interests resulting from it, the true labor organization does not satisfy itself with an endeavor to improve labor's condition, but it also aims to abolish capitalism; recognizing the cause, the true organization aims to remove it, instead of tinkering with it, while, at the same time, endeavoring to promote labor's interests as well as possible. The true labor organization does not prate about the mutual interests of capital and labor, when none exist, nor does it appeal to the political parties of the capitalist class—the Democratic and Republican parties—for legislative assistance, knowing full well that, as the interests of capital and labor are opposed in the factory and the telegraph office, so likewise they are opposed in the halls of legislation, on the bench of the judiciary and in the offices of the executive of the State, a fact that is demonstrated in the way labor legislation is either not passed, or when passed, is not enforced, or declared unconstitutional; a fact that is demonstrated further in the passage of legislation favorable to capitalists—franchises, subsidies, land grants, etc.—the use of the judiciary against the working class—injunctions, decisions against picketing, in favor of damages, against trades unions, etc.—and the exercises of the executive functions against workingmen—the ordering out of militia in times of strikes, etc.

The true labor organization, knowing that industrial evolution is toward social ownership, neither appeals to the Republican plutocrats, who would turn that evolution to their own exclusive advantage, nor to the Democratic reactionaries, who would undo it by reverting to nineteenth century conditions.

The true labor organization strives to realize this social ownership by organizing the entire working class to fight for the overthrow of capitalism at the ballot box. With the social ownership of industry, the commodity character of labor and the clash of interests growing out of its sale will disappear. Only when society owns the means of production and distribution, only when the capitalist employer is abolished, will labor reap all it produces, and be elevated, instead of degraded by the introduction of machinery and the products of invention.

Now, what is a false labor organization? A false labor organization is one that denies labor is bought and sold in the "labor market" according to the laws of supply and demand; that asserts the interests of capital and labor are identical, thought it is organized to protect those of its members who are workingmen; that proclaims the belief that labor can, "through legislative influence" secure laws "favorable to labor," though it shouts "no politics in the union." In fewer words, the false labor organization is a capitalist organization, run by its leaders for the purpose of perpetuating capitalism, by hobnobbing with capitalists, as John Mitchell and Mark Hanna, and securing political offices for themselves, as the Frank Sargent, of the Locomotive Firemen, now Commissioner General of Immigration.

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America is a false labor organization. It is organized on the lines laid down by the various unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with which it is affiliated. Its leaders are going to "keep politics out of the union." To prove that they mean (sic) what they say in regard to keeping "politics out of the union," they endorsed Hearst at their very first meeting. At the second meeting President Thomas stated that as long as he was connected with the union there would be no politics in it. At a smoker held a short time ago, after the foregoing, the whole thing was turned into a Hearst mass-meeting.

One of Hearst's henchmen was imported from Typographical Union No. 6 to boom Hearst. Other speakers boomed him and his platform, and one man, who evidently thought the audience was "getting onto" the fact that it was a Hearst meeting, did not mention Hearst, but boomed another prominent "labor man" mentioned for "honors" on the Democratic ticket, viz., John Mitchell, the understrapper of Mark Hanna, who has been named for the vice-presidency. This is the way President Thomas keeps politics "out of the union," that is, working class politics.

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, true to its character of a false labor organization, is organized on lines that seek not to promote the class struggle—that is, the interests of the entire working class in its struggles with the capitalist class—but only those of its particular craft.

What will be the result? Why, that owing to this false principle, the telegraphers will be sold out by the other trades in their line of industry in the event of a strike. This has been the history of other unions so organized, and it will be the history of the C. T. U. of A. Its sister organization, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, has suffered innumerable defeats on this account. About two and a half years ago, to cite an instance, when the telegraphers on the Santa Fe system struck, all the other railroad organizations scabbed on the operators. The trainmen and engineers took orders from scabs and operated with the Santa Fe company to defeat the operators. When the executive boards or the several organizations of trainmen, engineers and switchmen met and decided to assist the company instead of the telegraphers, no word of protest was received from H. B. Perham, now president of the O. R. T. As a result of this action, as a result of the false principle of mutual identity of interests between capital and labor, which makes such treacherous acts possible, that strike was a complete failure. Every telegrapher who went out lost his job, and was blacklisted—and I was one of them. Those telegraphers were hounded all over the country and prevented from earning a living on other roads—this in spite of "the mutual identity of interests existing between capital and labor." Many of them were glad to secure employment on the fruit farms of Colorado, picking cantaloupe and water-melons—and they, too, believed, like Eastlake, that "we are the practical people."

A union that recognizes the capitalist right to barter in labor and claims that the interests of capital and labor are identical cannot free the working class or improve its condition. Its every act is bound to favor the capitalist class and the capitalist system, because its principles are capitalist and not working class ones.

A union that refuses to recognize that right and denies that claim, and proceeds to organize the entire working class, politically and economically, accordingly, is on the right road to success.

As long as the capitalist system lasts trades unions will be necessary, but they will fail to be effective as long as we teach the workingman to uphold capitalism and to throw away his most effective weapon—the ballot—in voting for his capitalist masters, as represented by the Hannas and the Hearsts, assisted by the Gomperzes, Mitchells, Thomases and Eastlakes.

There is but one labor organization so organized, and that is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. This organization recognizes the commodity character of labor and the antagonistic interests of capital and labor, and it aims to end both, while seeking to improve the condition of labor—by the overthrow of capitalism at the ballot box, and the substitution of Socialism therefor.

Telegraphers, consider this organization. It is eminently practical in that it will not lead the working class into the disasters which befall false labor organizations at the hands of the employers and their government, aided by the Gomperzes, Mitchells, Thomases and Eastlakes. It is eminently practical in that it does not tinker with effects, but aims to eradicate causes. Pause to reflect before you leap. Will you organize to perpetuate wage slavery or will you organize to end it? If you decide to do the first, join the C. T. U. of A. If you decide to do the second, join the S. T. and L. A.

A Telegrapher, Who Has Had 15 Years' Experience in Both the Commercial and Railroad Branches in Various Parts of the Country.

compels a body wrapped in the torment of hell to wrest from the monster Capital the bread of his soul! This is the hero who will be honored when a true civilization will have swept away the sham of to-day.

The work of the longshoreman is carried on under the supervision of the stevedore and several assistant bosses. They are chosen for these positions on account of their possession of the same qualities which the Southern planter required in his overseer. The "boss" who gets the most work out of the men; who drives them like cattle; who curses and swears at them; who likes the fun

of tripping a green hand"; who can knock down a "kicker" is the best man. So says the capitalist class inspired agent of the line—the men call him an entirely different name which does not look very well on black and white, but which is far, far more appropriate.

In the semi-darkness of the hold, filled with a dust laden air, cases and bales packed like sardines in a box, weighing hundreds of pounds, have to be pulled out and put in slings to be hoisted to the dock. It is dangerous work; fingers and toes are crushed; dislocations are of common occurrence and lucky indeed is the man who in the course of years escapes without any more serious accidents.

There is no respite—no let up in working hours. Every minute has to tell its tale. All the day long from the hold to the sling, from the sling to the hand truck, the heavy cases go. Many a man drops in the stifling heat of the summer, and frozen feet, fingers and ears are on the record for the winter's work.

The uncertainty of the hours of work; the uncertainty as to the amount of the earnings—for the longshoreman is not employed by the month, by the week or even by the day,—he is employed by the hour. This most inhuman and unscrupulous mode of employment invented by the greed of the modern capitalist, does not even concede to the laborer the necessary time for the natural functions of his body except his pay be stopped for the time being.

The pay of the longshoreman ranges from 25 to 30 cents an hour for regular work; thirty to 45 cents for overtime, and 45 to 60 cents for Sunday work. If he is a "steady man" he is fairly certain of being employed every day unless one of the usual accidents occurs and lays him up for a while. Of course such an accident is always "his own fault!" Have his feet been crushed? Who told him to put his feet under the case? Are his hands frost bitten? Why in the world didn't he stay at home that day? Can he not afford to lose a day's pay? Does he not earn "big money"? No; no—same man would shoulder the responsibility for such occurrences upon the guileless and guileless employers!

But the majority of the workers who "follow the long shore" are "extras"—men who have to lay around doing nothing for days, waiting for ships to come in. In the space of two or three days and nights by overwork and Sunday work they have to crowd the labor of a week in order to earn a living or rather an existence. Few people can form an idea of the exhaustion produced by such over-exertion of the body: it positively compels—it exacts the use of stimulants.

Let no man point the finger of scorn at the staggering longshoreman! Let him beware, for the shame of it; the misery which drink brings to the longshoreman's family—they are nothing but the unavoidable consequences of the pitiless greed of Capital. Let the shame be with the millionaire director, with the vendor of "rotgut whiskey"—that lowest type of capitalistic parasites—and may the curses of starving wives, uttered every day in the year, embitter their lives to the day of death.

Worker of the long shore! your destiny lies in your own hand! Strike! Be a man! When the day of election comes, strike! Throw down your hook! Straighten out your cramped back! Grasp the hammer! Raise it high and strike! Strike a blow for true liberty—for economic freedom! The wife that you promised to support implores you; the child that you begot—and herein lies the onus of its claim—demands it! If there is one sacred claim on earth, it is the one which appeals to you from the innocent eyes of your child. You dare not consign it to the misery which is your lot. You dare not refuse this demand; it is sacred, and you MUST heed it.

When the day of election comes vote for the party which concedes no rights to idle capitalists; no rights to the usurpers of the earth. Vote for the party which recognizes but one thing: the right of the worker to the full fruit of his labor; the right of the worker, and the worker only, to the earth and all that is in it.

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G. O.

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NEW HAVEN, CT.—Christian Schmidt, 203 Foster street.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Leon Lecoste, 2402 Iberville street.
NO. ABINGTON, MASS.—Jer. Devine, 1000 Washington street.
NOVEMBER, MO.—D. A. Reed, Box 127.
PATTERSON, N. J.—John C. Butterworth, 109 Dexter street.
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PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—Charles Zolot, 1,511 1/2 Main street.
PEORIA, ILL.—Fred Lichtsinn, 303 Argo street.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Edmund Seldel, 2125 Bridge street.
PUEBLO, COLO.—J. T. Vaughn, 1707 W. 17th street.
RICHMOND, VA.—J. E. Madison, cor. Louis and Holmes streets.
ROCKFORD, ILL.—Frank McVay, 108 E. Main street.
ROSELAND, N. Y.—Chas. I. Ruby, 561 Clinton avenue, South.
ROCKFORD, CONN.—Gus Ralsch, 87 Union street.
SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Frank Leitner, 207 Matagorda street.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—E. W. Carpenter, 51 Third street; J. A. Roulston, 305 Larkin street.
SAN PEDRO, CAL.—Alexander Muhlbach, 2120 Broadway street.
ST. LOUIS, MO.—J. P. Strupel, 1532 Franklin avenue; John Neumann, 227 Menard street; John Feilman, 1019 N. Compton avenue.
ST. J. L. MINN.—Samuel Johnson, 594 Jackson street.
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The Longshoremen

Some day when you have nothing to do—and that time will come around as sure as Christmas, your boss will look out for that—take a walk along West street, and look around.

There are some people laboring there with whose ways of work you think you are familiar though you hardly glance at them. Yet, in reality, you scarcely know anything about their hardships and privations. I am speaking of the

men who load and unload ships—the longshoremen—whose emblem is the hook and the belt: the hook to fish for jobs with and the belt to reduce the emptiness of the stomach by pulling its sides together when this job is rather tardy in coming.

There is no occupation on earth which taxes a man's physical strength as much as that of a longshoreman. I have known strong, able bodied men, willing

—nay, anxious to work give up the attempt after five or six hours in despair, returning to their famishing wives and children, confessing with a heavy heart: "I cannot do it!"

And those of a more resisting physical nature who do "break in," which process usually takes from three to six weeks, suffer tortures during that time which can only be compared to those of the lost souls conjured up to the light from the inferno by the magic pen of Dante. The whole body is one mass of pains; the overstrained muscles seem to be on fire; the backbone threatens to break; the action of the heart is

irregular; and this excruciating suffering is permanent. It doubles the heavy task of the day; it robs the night of the refreshing sleep; and it does not subside until the physical functions of the body have adjusted themselves to the new conditions.

How insignificant! How ridiculous appear your war heroes, your gallant rough riders who, like fools, "rush in where angels fear to tread," risk their worthless lives for worthless causes for the sake of newspaper glory or another bit of gold lace on their coats—how small they appear in comparison with the man who "breaks in"—the man who

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty.

Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART I.

WOMAN IN THE PAST (CONTINUED).

CHAPTER II.

UNDER CHRISTIANITY.

The opposite of polygamy,—as we have learned to know it among Oriental peoples, and as it still exists among them, but owing to the number of available women and the cost of their support, can be indulged in only by the privileged and the rich—is polyandry. The latter exists mainly among the highland people of Tibet, among the Gallas on the Hindoo-Chinese frontier, among the Baigas in Godwana, the Nairs in the southern extremity of India; it is said to be found also among the Eskimos and Aleutians. Heredity is determined in the only way possible,—after the mother: the children belong to her. The husbands of a woman are usually brothers. When the elder brother marries, the other brothers likewise become the husbands of the woman; the woman, however, preserves the right to take other men besides. Conversely, the men also are said to have the right of taking a second, third, fourth, or more wives. To what circumstances polyandry owes its origin is not yet clear. Seeing that the polyandrous nations, without exception, live either on high mountain regions, or in the cold zone, polyandry probably owes its existence to a phenomenon that Tarnowsky comments on.¹ He learned from reliable travelers that a long sojourn at high elevations lowers the sensuous pleasures, and weakens erection, both of which return with new vigor by re-descent to lower altitudes. This lowering of the sexual powers, Tarnowsky is of the opinion, might partly account for the comparative slight increase of population on highland regions; and he is of the opinion that, when the debility is transmitted, it may become a source of degeneration that operates upon the perversity of the sexual sense.

We may also add that a protracted domicile, together with the habits of life contracted on very high or cold regions, may have for a further result that polyandry lays no excessive demands upon a woman. The women themselves are correspondingly affected in their nature. That they are so is rendered probable by the circumstance that, among the Eskimo girls, menstruation sets in only with the nineteenth year, whereas in the warm zones it sets in as early as the tenth or eleventh, and in the temperate latitudes between the fourteenth and the sixteenth year. In view of the fact that warm climates, as universally recognized, exercise a strongly stimulating influence upon the sexual instinct,—whence polygamy finds its widest diffusion in warm countries—it is quite likely that cold regions—to which high mountains and plateaus belong, and where the thinner air may also contribute its share—may exercise materially a restraining effect upon the sexual instinct. It must, moreover, be noted that experience shows conception occurs rarer with women who cohabit with several men. The increase of population is, accordingly, slight under polyandry; and it fits in with the difficulty of securing subsistence, encountered in cold lands and mountain regions,—whereby additional proof is furnished that also, in this, to us so seemingly strange phenomenon of polyandry, production has its determining influence upon the relations of the sexes. Finally, it is to be ascertained whether among these peoples, who live on high mountains or in cold zones, the killing of girl babies is not a frequent practice, as is oft reported of the Mongolian tribes, on the highlands of China.

Exactly the reverse of the custom among the Romans during the Empire, of allowing celibacy and childlessness to gain the upper hand, was the custom prevalent among the Jews. True enough, the Jewish woman had no right to choose; her father fixed upon the husband she was to wed; but marriage was a duty, that they religiously followed. The Talmud advises: "When your daughter is of marriageable age, give her freedom to one of your slaves and engage her to him." In the same sense the Jews followed strictly the command of their God: "Increase and multiply." Due to this, and despite all persecutions and oppression, they have diligently increased their numbers. The Jew is the sworn enemy of Malthusianism.

Already Tacitus says of them: "Among themselves there is a stubborn holding together, and ready open-handedness; but, for all others, hostile hatred. Never do they eat, never do they sleep with foes; and, although greatly inclined to sensuousness, they abstain from procreation with foreign women. Nevertheless they strive to increase their people. Infanticide is held a sin with them; and the souls of those who die in battle or by execution they consider immortal. Hence the love of procreation beside their contempt of death." Tacitus hated and abhorred the Jews, because, in contempt of the religion of their fathers, they heaped up wealth and treasures. He called them the "worst set of people," an "ugly race."

Under the over-lordship of the Romans, the Jews drew ever closer together. Under the long period of sufferings, which, from that time on, they had to endure, almost throughout the whole of the Christian Middle Ages, grew that intimate family life that is to-day considered a sort of pattern by the modern bourgeois regime. On the other side, Roman society underwent the process of disintegration and dissolution, which led the Empire to its destruction. Upon the excesses, bordering on insanity, followed the other extreme,—the most rigid abstinence. As excess, in former days, now asceticism assumed religious forms. A dream-land-fanaticism made propaganda for it. The unbounded gluttony and luxury of the ruling classes stood in glaring contrast with the want and misery of the millions upon millions that conquering Rome dragged, from all the then known countries of the world, into Italy and slavery. Among these were also numberless women, who, separated from their domestic hearths, from their parents or their husbands, and torn from their children, felt their misery most keenly, and yearned for deliverance. A large number of Roman women, disgusted at that which happened all around them, found themselves in similar frame of mind; any change in their condition seemed to them a relief. A deep longing for a change, for deliverance, took possession of extensive social layers;—and the deliverer seemed to approach. The conquest of Jerusalem and of the Jewish kingdom by the Romans had for its consequence the destruction of all national independence, and begot among the ascetic sects of that country, dreamers, who announced the birth of a new kingdom, that was to bring freedom and happiness to all.

Christ came, and Christianity arose. It embodied the opposition to the bestial materialism that reigned among the great and the rich of the Roman Empire; it represented the revolt against the contempt for and oppression of the masses. But originating in Judaism, which knew woman only as a being bereft of all rights, and biased by the Biblical conception which saw in her the source of all evil, Christianity preached contempt for woman. It also preached abstinence, the mortification of the flesh, then so sinful, and it pointed with its ambiguous phrases to a prospective kingdom, which some interpreted as of heaven, others as of earth, and which was to bring freedom and justice to all. With these doctrines it found fertile ground in the submerged bottom of the Roman Empire. Woman, hoping, along with all the miserable, for freedom and deliverance from her condition, joined readily and zealously. Down to our own days, never yet was a great and important movement achieved in the world without women also having been conspicuously active as combatants and martyrs. Those who praise Christianity as a great

achievement of civilization should not forget that it was woman in particular to whom Christianity owes a great part of its success. Her proselyting zeal played a weighty role in the Roman Empire, as well as among the barbarous peoples of the Middle Ages. The mightiest were by her converted to Christianity. It was Clotilde, for instance, who moved Clovis, the King of the Franks, to accept Christianity; it was, again, Bertha, Queen of Kent, and Gisela, Queen of Hungary, who introduced Christianity in their countries. To the influence of the women is due the conversion of many of the great. But Christianity requited woman ill. Its tenets breathe the same contempt for woman that is breathed in all the religions of the East. It orders her to be the obedient servant of her husband, and the vow of obedience she must, to this day, make to him at the altar.

Let us hear the Bible and Christianity speak of woman and marriage. The ten commandments are addressed only to the men; in the tenth commandment woman is bracketed with servants and domestic animals. Man is warned not to covet his neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his. Woman, accordingly, appears as an object, as a piece of property, that the man may not hanker after, if in another's possession. Jesus, who belonged to a sect—the sect which imposed upon itself strict asceticism and even self-emasculation—being asked by his disciples whether it is good to marry, answers: "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Emasculation is, according to hereto, an act hallowed by God, and the renunciation of love and marriage a good deed.

Paul, who, in a higher degree than even Jesus himself, may be called the founder of the Christian religion; Paul, who first impressed an international character upon this creed, and tore it away from the narrow sectarianism of the Jews, writes to the Corinthians: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman'; 'he that giveth her in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better.'" "Walk in the Spirit and fulfil not the lust of the flesh, for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh;" "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts." He followed his own precepts, and did not marry. This hatred of the flesh is the hatred of woman, but also the fear of woman, who—see the scene in Paradise—is represented as the seducer of man. In this spirit did the Apostles and the Fathers of the Church preach; in this spirit did the Church work throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, when it reared its cloisters, and introduced celibacy among the priesthood;—and to this day it works in the same spirit.

According to Christianity, woman is the *unclean being*; the seducer, who introduced sin into the world and ruined man. Hence Apostles, and Fathers of the Church alike, have ever looked upon marriage as a necessary evil,—the same as is said to-day of prostitution. Tertullian exclaims: "Woman, thou shouldst ever walk in mourning and rags, thy eyes full of tears, present the aspect of repentance to induce forgetfulness of your having ruined the human race. Woman, thou art the Gate of Hell!" Hieronymus says: "Marriage always is a vice; all that we can do is to excuse and cleanse it," hence it was made a sacrament of the Church. Origenes declares: "Marriage is something unholty and unclean, a means for sensuality," and, in order to resist the temptation, he emasculated himself. Tertullian declares: "Celibacy is preferable, even if the human race goes to ground." Augustine teaches: "The celibates will shine in heaven like brilliant stars, while their parents (who brought them forth) are like dark stars." Eusebius and Hieronymus agree that the Biblical command, "Increase and multiply," no longer fits the times, and does not concern the Christians. Hundreds of other quotations from the most influential Fathers of the Church could be cited, all of which tend in the same direction. By means of their continuous teaching and preaching, they have spread those unnatural views touching sexual matters, and the intercourse of the sexes, the latter of which, nevertheless, remains a commandment of nature, and obedience to which is one of the most important duties in the mission of life. Modern society is still severely ailing from these teachings, and it is recovering but slowly.

Peter calls out emphatically to women: "Ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands." Paul writes to the Ephesians: "The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church;" and in Corinthians: "Man is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man." According to which every son of a man may hold himself better than the most distinguished woman;—indeed, it is so in practice to-day. Also against the higher education of women does Paul raise his weighty voice: "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence;" and again: "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

Such doctrines are not peculiar to Christianity only. Christianity being a mixture of Judaism and Greek philosophy, and seeing that these, in turn, have their roots in the older civilization of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Hindoos, the subordinate position that Christianity assigned to woman was one common in antiquity. In the Hindoo laws of Manu it is said regarding woman: "The source of dishonor is woman; the source of strife is woman; the source of earthly existence is woman; therefore avoid woman." Beside this degradation of woman, fear of her ever and anon reappears naively. Manu further sets forth: "Woman is by nature ever inclined to tempt man; hence a man should not sit in a secluded place even with his nearest female relative." Woman, accordingly, is, according to the Hindoo as well as the Old Testament and Christian view, everywhere the tempter. All masterhood implies the degradation of the mastered. The subordinate position of woman continues, to this day, even more in force in the backward civilization of the East than among the nations that enjoy a so-called Christian viewpoint. That which, in the so-called Christian world, gradually improved the situation of woman was, not Christianity, but the advanced culture of the West struggling against the Christian doctrine.

Christianity is guiltless of woman's present improved position to what it was at the start of the era. Only reluctantly, and forced thereto, did Christianity become untrue to its true spirit with regard to woman. Those who rave about "the mission of Christianity to emancipate mankind," differ from us in this, as in other respects. They claim that Christianity freed woman from her previous low position, and they ground themselves upon the worship of Maria, the "mother of God,"—a cult, however, that sprang up only later in Christendom, but which they point to as a sign of regard for the whole sex. The Roman Catholic Church, which celebrates this cult, should be the last to lay claim to such a doctrine. The Saints and Fathers of the Church, cited above, and whose utterances could be easily multiplied—and they are the leading Church authorities—express themselves separately and collectively hostile to woman and to marriage. The Council of Macon, which, in the sixteenth century, discussed the question whether woman had a soul, and which decided with a majority of but one vote, that she had, likewise argues against the theory of such a friendly posture towards woman. The introduction of celibacy by Gregory VII—although resorted to first of all and mainly with the end in view of holding in the unmarried priesthood a power that could not be alienated from the service of the Church through any family interests—was, nevertheless, possible only with such fundamental doctrines as the Church held touching the sinfulness of the lusts of the flesh; and it goes to confirm our theory.

Neither did the Reformers, especially Calvin and the Scotch ministers, with their wrath at the "lusts of the flesh," entertain any doubt touching the hostile posture of Christianity towards woman.²

¹ Montaigne's "L'Amour dans l'Humanité."

² Matthew, ch. 10: 11 and 12.

³ 1. Corinthians, ch. 7: 1 and 28.

⁴ Peter 1, ch. 2: 1.

⁵ Paul: Ephesians, ch. 5: 23.

⁶ Paul: 1. Corinthians, ch. 11: 7.

⁷ 1. Timothy, ch. 2: 11 and 12.

⁸ 1. Corinthians, ch. 14: 34 and 35.

⁹ This was a move that the parish priests of the diocese of Mainz, among others, complained against, expressing themselves thus: "You Bishops and Abbots possess great wealth, a kingly table, and rich hunting equipages; and Abbot priests have for our comfort only a wife. Abstinence may be a handsome virtue, but, in point of fact, it is hard and difficult."—Yves Guyot: "Les Theories Sociales du Christianisme."

¹⁰ Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England," furnishes a large number of illustrations on this head.

By the introduction of the cult of Maria, the Roman Catholic Church shrewdly placed the worship of Mary in the place of that of the heathen goddesses, in vogue among all the people over whom Christianity was then extending itself. Maria took the place of the Cybele, the Mylitta, the Aphrodite, the Venus, the Ceres, etc., of the southern races; of the Freia, the Frigga, etc., of the Germanic tribes. She was a mere spiritually-Christian idealization.

The primeval, physically robust, though rude yet uncorrupted races, that, during the first centuries of our reckoning, crowded down from the North and East like a gigantic ocean wave, and swamped the worn-out universal Empire of Rome, where Christianity had gradually been superimposing itself as master, resisted with all their might the ascetic doctrines of the Christian preachers. With good grace or bad, the latter were forced to reckon with these robust natures. With astonishment did the Romans perceive that the customs of those peoples were quite different from their own. Tacitus rendered to this fact the tribute of his acknowledgement, which, with regard to the Germans, he expressed in these words: "The matrimonial bond is, nevertheless, strict and severe among them; nor is there anything in their manners more commendable than this. Almost singly among the barbarians, they content themselves with one wife. Adultery is extremely rare among so numerous a people. Its punishment is instant, and at the pleasure of the husband. He cuts off the hair of the offender, strips her, and in the presence of her relations expels her from his house, and pursues her with stripes through the whole village. Nor is any indulgence shown to a prostitute. Neither beauty, youth, nor riches can procure her a husband; for none there looks on vice with a smile, or calls mutual seduction the way of the world. The youths partake late of the pleasures of love, and hence pass the age of puberty unexhausted; nor are the virgins hurried into marriage; the same maturity, the same full growth is required; the sexes unite equally matched, and robust; and the children inherit the vigor of their parents."

With the object in view of holding up a pattern to the Romans, Tacitus painted the conjugal conditions of the old Germans with rather too rosy a hue. No doubt, the adulteress was severely punished among them; but the same did not hold good with regard to the adulterer. At the time of Tacitus, the gens was still in bloom among the Germans. He, to whom, living under the advanced Roman conditions, the old gentile constitution, together with its principles, was bound to seem strange and incomprehensible, narrates with astonishment that, with the Germans, the mother's brother, considered his nephew as an own son; aye, some looked upon the bond of consanguinity between the uncle on the mother's side and his nephew as more sacred and closer than that between father and son. So that, when hostages were demanded, the sister's son was considered a better guarantee than an own son. Engels adds hereto: "If an own son was given by the members of such a gens as a pledge for a treaty, and he fell a sacrifice through his own father's violation of the treaty, the latter had to settle accounts for himself. If, however, it was a sister's son who was sacrificed, then the old gentile right was violated. The nearest gentile relative, held before all others to safeguard the boy or lad, had caused his death; he either had no right to offer him as a pledge, or he was bound to observe the treaty."³

For the rest, as Engels shows, the mother-right had already yielded to the father-right among the Germans, at the time of Tacitus. The children inherited from their father; in the absence of these, then the brothers and the uncle of the father on the mother's side. The admission of the mother's brother as an heir, although descent from the father determined the line of inheritance, is explained with the theory that the old right had only recently died away. It was only reminiscences of the old right that furnished the conditions, which enabled Tacitus to find a, to the Romans, incomprehensible regard for the female sex among the Germans. He also found that their courage was pricked to the utmost by the women. The thought that their women might fall into captivity or slavery was the most horrible that the old German could conceive of; it spurred him to utmost resistance. But the women also were animated by the spirit that possessed the men. When Marius refused the captured women of the Teutons to dedicate themselves as priestesses to Vesta (the goddess of maidenly chastity) they committed suicide.

In the time of Tacitus, the Germans already acquired settled habitations. Yearly the division of land by lots took place. Besides that, there was common property in the woods, water and pasture grounds. Their lives were yet simple; their wealth principally cattle; their dress consisted of coarse woolen mantles, or skins of animals. Neither women nor chiefs wore under-clothing. The working of metals was in practice only among those tribes located too far away for the introduction of Roman products of industry. Justice was administered in minor affairs by the council of elders; on more important matters, by the assembly of the people. The chiefs were elected, generally out of the same family, but the transition of the father-right favored the heredity of office, and led finally to the establishment of a hereditary nobility, from which later sprang the kingdom. As in Greece and Rome, the German gens went to pieces with the rise of private property and the development of industries and trade, and through the commingling with members of strange tribes and peoples. The place of the gens was taken by the community, the mark, the democratic organization of free peasants, the latter of which, in the course of many centuries, constituted a firm bulwark in the struggles against the nobility, the Church and the Princes,—a bulwark that broke down by little and little, but that did not wholly crumble even after the feudal State had come to power, and the one-time free peasants were in droves reduced to the condition of serfs and dependents.

The confederation of marks was represented by the heads of the families. Married women, daughters, daughters-in-law were excluded from council and administration. The time when women were conspicuous in the conduct of the affairs of the tribe—a circumstance that likewise astonished Tacitus in the highest degree, and which he reports in terms of contempt—were gone. The Salic law abolished in the fifth century of our reckoning the succession of the female sex to hereditary domains.

Soon as he married, every member of a mark was entitled to a share in the common lands. As a rule, grand-parents, parents and children lived under one roof, in communal household. Hence, with a view of being allotted a further share, under-aged or unripe sons were not infrequently married by their father to some marriageable maiden; the father then filled the duties of husband, in the stead of his son.⁴ Young married couples received a cart-load of beechwood, and timber for a block-house. If a daughter was born to the couple, they received one load of wood; if a son, two loads.⁵ The female sex was considered worth only one-half.

Marriage was simple. A religious formality was unknown. Mutual declarations sufficed. As soon as a couple mounted the nuptial bed, the marriage was consummated. The custom that marriage needs an act of the Church for its validity, came in only in the ninth century. Only in the sixteenth century, on decree of the Council of Trent, was marriage declared a sacrament of the Roman Catholic Church.

With the rise of feudalism, the condition of a large number of the members of the free communities declined. The victorious army-commanders utilized their power to appropriate large territories unto themselves; they considered themselves masters of the common property, which they distributed among their devoted retainers—slaves, serfs, freedmen, generally of foreign descent,—for a term of years, or with the right of inheritance. They thus furnished themselves with a court and military nobility, in all things devoted to their will. The establishment of the large Empire of the Franks finally put an end to the last vestiges of the old gentile constitution. In the place of the former councils of chiefs, now stood the lieutenants of the army and of the newly formed nobility.

Gradually, the mass of the freemen, members of the once free communities, lapsed into exhaustion and poverty, due to the continuous wars of conquest and the strifes among the great, whose burdens they had to bear. They could no longer meet the obligation of furnishing the army requisitions. In lieu thereof, Princes and high nobility secured servants, while the peasants placed themselves and their property under the protection of some temporal or spiritual lord—the Church had man-

aged, within but few centuries, to become a great power—whereof they paid rent and tribute. Thus the thitherto free peasant's estate was transformed into hired property; and this, with time, was burdened with ever more obligations. Once landed in this state of dependence, it was not long before the peasant lost his personal freedom also. In this way dependence and serfdom spread ever more.

The landlord possessed the almost absolute right of disposal over his serfs and dependents. He had the right, as soon as a male reached his eighteenth year, or the female her fourteenth, to compel their marriage. He could assign a woman to a man, and a man to a woman. He enjoyed the same right over widows and widowers. In his attribute of lord over his subjects, he also considered the sexual use of his female serfs and dependents to be at his own disposal,—a power that finds its expression in the "jus primae noctis" (the right of the first night). This right also belonged to his representative, the steward, unless, upon the payment of a tribute, the exercise of the right was renounced. The very names of the tribute betray its nature.⁶

It is extensively disputed that this "right of the first night" ever existed. The "right of the first night" is quite a thorn in the side of certain folks, for the reason that the right was still exercised at an age, that they love to hold up as a model,—a genuine model of morality and piety. It has been pointed out how this "right of the first night" was the rudiment of a custom, that hung together with the age of the mother-right, when all the women were the wives of all the men of a class. With the disappearance of the old family organization, the custom survived in the surrender of the bride, on the wedding night, to the men of her own community. But, in the course of time, the right is ever more restricted, and finally falls to the chief of the tribe, or to the priest, as a religious act, to be exercised by them alone. The feudal lord assumes the right as a consequence of his power over the person who belongs to the land, and which is his property; and he exercises the right if he wills, or relinquishes it in lieu of a tribute in products or money. How real was the "right of the first night" appears from Jacob Grimm's "Weisthümer."⁷

Sugenheim⁸ says the "jus primae noctis," as a right appertaining to the landlords, originates in that his consent to marriage was necessary. Out of this right there arose in Bearn the usage that all the first-born of marriages, in which the "jus primae noctis" was exercised, were of free rank. Later, the right was generally redeemable by a tribute. According to Sugenheim, those who held most stubbornly to the right were the Bishops of Amins; it lasted with them till the beginning of the fifteenth century. In Scotland the right was declared redeemable by King Malcolm III, towards the end of the eleventh century; in Germany, however, it continued in force much longer. According to the archives of a Swabian cloister, Adelberg, for the year 1496, the serfs, located at Boertlingen, had to redeem the right by the bridegroom's giving a cake of salt, and the bride paying one pound seven shillings, or with a pan, "in which she can sit with her buttocks." In other places the bridegrooms had to deliver to the landlord for ransom as much cheese or butter "as their buttocks were thick and heavy." In still other places they had to give a handsome cordovan tabouret "that they could just fill." According to the accounts given by the Bavarian Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals, Welsch, the obligation to redeem the "jus primae noctis" existed in Bavaria as late as the eighteenth century.⁹ Furthermore, Engels reports that, among the Welsh and the Scots, the "right of the first night" prevailed throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, with the difference only that, due to the continuance of the gentile organization, it was not the landlord, or his representative, but the chief of the clan, as the last representative of the one-time husbands in common, who exercised the right, in so far as it was not redeemed.

There is, accordingly, no doubt whatever that the so-called "right of the first night" existed, not only during the whole of the Middle Ages, but continued even down to modern days, and played its role under the color of feudalism. In Poland, the noblemen arrogated the right to deflower any maid they pleased, and a hundred lashes were given him who complained. That the sacrifice of maidenly honor seems even today a matter of course to landlords and their officials in the country, transpires, not only in Germany, oftener than one imagines, but it is a frequent occurrence all over the East and South of Europe, as is asserted by experts in countries and the peoples.

In the days of feudalism, marriage was a matter of interest to the landlord. The children that sprang therefrom entered into the same relation of subjection to him as their parents; the labor-power at his disposal increased in numbers, his income rose. Hence spiritual and temporal landlords favored marriage among their vassals. The matter lay otherwise, particularly for the Church, if, by the prevention of marriage, the prospect existed of bringing land into the possession of the Church by testamentary bequests. This, however, occurred only with the lower ranks of freemen, whose condition, due to the circumstances already mentioned, became ever more precarious, and who, listening to religious suggestions and superstition, relinquished their property to the Church in order to find protection and peace behind the walls of a cloister. Others, again, placed themselves under the protection of the Church, in consideration of the payment of duties, and the rendering of services. Frequently their descendants fell on this route a prey to the very fate which their ancestors had sought to escape. They either gradually became Church dependents, or were turned into novices for the cloisters.

The towns, which, since the eleventh century were springing up, then had at that time a lively interest in promoting the increase of population; settlement in them and marriage were made as easy as possible. The towns became especially asylums for countrymen, fleeing from unbearable oppression, and for fugitive serfs and dependents. Later, however, matters changed. So soon as the towns had acquired power, and contained a well-organized body of the trades, hostility arose against new immigrants, mostly propertyless peasants, who wanted to settle as handicraftsmen. Inconvenient competitors were sent in these. The barriers raised against immigration were multiplied. High settlement fees, expensive examinations, limitations of a trade to a certain number of masters and apprentices,—all this condemned thousands to pauperism, to a life of celibacy, and to vagabondage. When, in the course of the sixteenth century, and for reasons to be mentioned later, the flower-time of the towns was passing away, and their decline had set in, the narrow horizon of the time caused the impediments to settlement and independence to increase still more. Other circumstances also contributed their demoralizing effect.

The tyranny of the landlords increased so mightily from decade to decade that many of the vassals preferred to exchange their sorrowful life for the trade of the tramp or the highwayman,—an occupation that was greatly aided by the thick woods and the poor condition of the roads. Or, invited by the many violent disturbances of the time, they became soldiers, who sold themselves where the sold was highest, or the booty seemed most promising. An extensive male and female proletariat came into existence, and became a plague to the land. The Church contributed faithfully to the general depravity. Already, in the celibatic state of the priesthood there was a main-spring for the fostering of sexual excesses; these were still further promoted through the continuous intercourse kept up with Italy and Rome.

¹¹ "Bettmund," "Jungfernzins," "Hemdtschilling," "Schuerzenzins," "Bunzenzins."

¹² "Aber sprechend die Hölle, welcher hier zu der heiligen see kumbt, der sol einen meyer (Gutsverwalter) laden und auch ein frowen, da sol der meyer den brütigen ein haffen, da er wol mag ein schaff in geseiden, auch sol der meyer bringen ein fuder holz an das hochzeit, auch sol ein meyer ein sin frow bringen ein viertertheil eines schwanzschachen, und so die hochzeit vergat, sol der brütigen den meyer by sin wib lassen ligen die ersten nacht, oder er sol sy lösen mit 3 schilling 4 pfening."—I, p. 43.

¹³ History of the Abolition of Serfdom in Europe to the Middle of the 19th Century. St. Petersburg, 1861.

¹⁴ Memminger, Stettin and others. "Beschreibung der Wuerttembergischen Aemter." Hermann: "Die Bayern im Morgenlande." Also Sugenheim.

¹⁵ "Ueber Stetigung und Abloesung der bauerlichen Grundlasten mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayern, Wuerttemberg, Baden, Hessen, Proussen und Oesterreich." Landshut, 1848.

(To be continued.)

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in The Sunday People, and in The Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in The Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

¹ Tarnowsky, "Die krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtslebens." Berlin, August Hirschwald.
² Tacitus, "Historiae," Book I.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	53,617

LIGHTNING-RODS.

The official report of the late miners convention, held in Scranton, Pa., is positively pictorial.

The convention was largely attended, 640 delegates being present. Three anthracite districts were represented. They had gathered as a result of the complete collapse of the expectations, which they had entertained last October, when the Arbitration Commission was established, and which, despite misgivings, they still continued to entertain after the award had been published. They found themselves, on the whole, in a worse condition. In some instances, under the guise of "shorter hours", they found their wages were reduced relatively and absolutely; in others, they found that, under the guise of higher wages, they had to work under greater disadvantages—uncertain hours and more oppressive conditions. And these were the ashen "laurels" of their "victory", which to obtain—"laurels" and "victory"—they had been tricked into "returning to work pending arbitration"—letting slip their capitalist oppressor when they had him by the throat, with the nation behind them, and the revolutionary pulse mounting by leaps and bounds toward the point of returning to the people what belonged to the people, and giving to Caesar what was due to Caesar—THE GRAND BOUNCE. It was under the smart of these feelings that the Scranton convention met, and met to rectify the wrong. Such was the setting to the scene. Now to the scene itself.

There were three star actors. Delegate George Hartlein, Delegate William Tarr, and President John Mitchell in the chair.

Delegate George Hartlein, in addressing the convention summarized the situation quite graphically; and he summarized his summary with these words:

"I can see a six months' strike in every one of your faces to get what we are entitled to."

The response that this speech met proved that Delegate Hartlein was not a "lone kicker", a lone "electric spark". Resounding cheers punctuated his every sentence: it was like heavy claps of rolling thunder, following thick and close upon the electric discharges of the lightning in a storm. That atmosphere was surcharged with electricity—the true electric thrill of the class-conscious instinct of the working class.

The second actor, Delegate William Tarr, contributed in the emphasizing of the situation. In the course of his speech he said, answering Delegate Hartlein:

"We've had enough of strike. We've had our belly full of it! What we're here for is to avoid strike. We're not looking for bother."

It was a providential test. Weak blows blow over and are scattered into greater weakness by resistance. Strong storms acquire from resistance redoubled strength. The tree, that may absorb and dispel a slight electric discharge, is riven by the thunderbolt. The miners convention rose as a man, and smothered the Tarr resistance with the thunderbolt of its protest. "Put him out!" was the mildest term that the correct instinct of the delegates hurled at this speaker, and he sank, undone, in his seat.

The third and last actor was President Mitchell. Tho' the strongest tree be smitten by an electric storm, few can escape the fatal effect of the silent, placid lightning-rod. President Mitchell played the role. Last October he played it, and he played it now again to perfection—HE RAN THE ELECTRIC SPARK INTO THE GROUND. A committee was appointed to "conciliate", and the convention adjourned. The storm was—and rolled off. Its potential

powers of annihilation for the capitalist usurper were "turned off and under." As people come out of their houses, where they had lain low and trembling during the raging of a storm outside, and now sniff the air in gladness and safety, so now: The anthracite mine owning scourges of Labor, together with their kind of all trades, breathe in safety. The lightning-rod saved them again.

And yet not for ever. The instinct, that guided this Scranton convention in detecting a Tarr, was manifestly stronger than that that they proved themselves guided by last October. They will learn—aye, they will! The Working Class—electric concentrators—will absorb the teachings, the warnings, aye, even the "scoldings" and the manifestations of "ill temper and impatience" that are proceeding from their Socialist brothers, and that only gather effectiveness with time. That CONVENTION OF LABOR will meet—you may hear its approaching tramp on the air—when the instinct of the Working Class will be so thoroughly awake and full-grown, that the Tarrs will not even be noticed, and the lightning-rods of the Capitalist Class, the labor fakirs will be broken and melted by the intensity of the electric storm.

Civilization—the dignity of man and woman; the happiness of children; Virtue, Justice and Morality—is breathlessly awaiting that day.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

The returns of the Reichstag elections, held on the 16th instant, are sufficiently complete to enable an estimate in rough. Rough as the estimate may be, it is accurate enough for all practical purposes, and of many-sided interest. In forming the estimate several facts must be kept in mind.

In the first place, there are in Germany fully ten political parties. There is no real shading off between these parties, such as there is in this country, or even in France, where parties are more numerous than here, and where they can be graded from the extreme Right (monarchic-clerical) to the extreme Left (revolutionary Socialist). In Germany there is an "extreme Right", in so far as there is a fendo-imperial party, and an "extreme Left", in so far as there is a party led by Socialists whose ideal is the Socialist Republic. But in between these, there are no shadings, properly speaking: there are parties of various nationalities—"Danes," "Poles," "Alsations"—dominated essentially by native reminiscences, prejudices, antipathies and aspirations; and there are others with politico-economic bases, but so cut up and warped that they do not shade off above and below from a more conservative into a more radical basis, but rather dove-tail in a sort of Gerrymander style in all imaginable directions. Thus the political parties' appearance in Germany presents rather the strung-up aspect of the tail of a Chinese kite than that of a connected chain of political evolution. The circumstance caused Engels to observe—and he was penetrating enough to observe it with sorrow—that there was not in Germany any radical bourgeois party, hence radical bourgeoisism—what in this country and France has "Free Trade," "anti-Militarism," "anti-Clericalism," "anti-Expansion," "Tax Reform" generally, etc., etc., for its manifestations and rallying cries—flowed into the Socialist party, there named "Social Democratic," and its current turned away.

The second point to be considered is the economic turn of affairs in Germany. One thread, taken from the tangled web, will illumine the physiognomy of things there. The phenomenal development taken in Germany by the cultivation of the sugar beet for the exportation of sugar, withdrew vast acres from the cultivation of grains and from cattle raising. The sequence, together with the sequences to the sequence, was this:—a scarcity of domestic bread-stuffs and meats; increased importations; Agrarian (landlord farmer) demand for high, even exclusive tariffs to the end, not only of protecting the high scarcity prices, but also of being saved from drowning in a deluge of imported foreign farm products; finally a conflict between the manufacturing and such agricultural interests. The upshot—strange as it would seem in this twentieth century—was such as the predominating feudal character of the nation foreshadowed. The Agrarian idea went out by a large majority in the Reichstag, and the new tariff was enacted, a tariff justly named "famine tariff." Shortly after this law the term of the Reichstag expired; and the electoral campaign started in for the new Reichstag.

From these two bases it is obvious:

1° That the large majority of the parties and interests directly opposed to

the new tariff; but could not express them;

2° The only logical party of opposition was the Social Democratic;

The result—the Social Democratic gains of about fifteen seats and an increased poll of about 400,000, after a generation of parliamentary work and opportunities—must fall far below the expectations of the German Socialist leaders, whatever their printed, cautiously expressed expectations were, who in the heat of the fight must be excused for over-sanguineness; and it falls farther still below the expectations of the bourgeois world, radical and free trade or otherwise, outside of Germany, in America and England especially, who expected to see the tariff reversed at the polls. To the careful watcher of events and weigher of facts there is no disappointment. There is gladness only that progress was at all made. And in what lies the progress? It is in the answer to this question that lies the lesson of the campaign.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found the manifesto of the Social Democratic delegation in the Reichstag, issued on the day of its expiration, and published on May 1 in the party's organ, the Berlin "Vorwaerts." The campaign opened therewith. The only additional fact needed to be mentioned in this connection is that a revolutionary movement may swing upward with its aid. But "gunpowder" alone does not indicate the movement's immediate direction. Its direction is ascertained by the shot that the gunpowder carries. The nature of the "shot" that the "gunpowder" carried in this instance is betrayed by the manifesto. The "shot" is not Socialist, it is Radical Bourgeois. It is essentially such a manifesto as the radical bourgeois of any country, America included, may issue, and at times have issued. The few phrases about "class rule" and the like that it contains have none but declamatory significance.

Conditions determine cases. The revolutionary Socialist movement has not yet, can not yet have its day in Germany. Whatever the aspirations may be of especially enlightened individuals, they are overpowered by exigencies. The Social Democratic party of Germany, Socialist in the abstract aspirations of its is that the Social Democratic campaign was carried to the tune of "Bread, Usury and Dear Meat!"

"Bread and Dear Meat"—even with the "Usury" thrown in—makes ideal gun-leaders, is compelled to turn its attention to bourgeois issues. Nor should the inestimable value of its work in that direction be underrated, or measured by the seeming smallness of its achievements. It has a stony road to travel in the final overthrow of feudalism,—how stony, may be judged from this campaign;—why and in what way stony, the background of the campaign, as here-in described, indicates.

That such a party in such a country does make progress, that it alone progresses,—that is cause for congratulation. Fendo-capitalism is a monstrosity. It must be overthrown before the march can be entered upon against Capitalism proper. That is the task of the present Social Democracy of Germany.

PROSPERITY? SURE!

The meaning of "prosperity" to the working class is reflected in the abstract of railroad statistics for the year ending June 30, 1902, just issued by the Interstate Commission.

According to this abstract, the net earnings of all the roads in the United States aggregated \$610,131,520,—an increase of \$52,002,735, as compared with the previous twelve months. Into whose lap did this prosperity fall? Let the official abstract itself answer the question.

In point of employees, the abstract shows that the number was 1,189,315,—an increase of 118,146; and their compensation was \$676,028,592,—an increase of \$65,314,891, and this increase is being conspicuously held up in the papers for the obvious purpose of making it appear as though "prosperity" had bestowed more millions on the employees than it had done on the stockholders. A little arithmetic dispels the illusion.

If the increase in the number of employees for 1902—118,146—is deducted from the figures of 1902, it will be found that there were 1,071,169 railroad employees in 1901. If the increase in wages paid for 1902—\$65,314,891—is deducted from the figures of 1902, it will be found that these 1,071,169 employees received \$610,713,701 in wages, or an average of \$570.13. Now, if the number of employees for 1902—1,189,315—is divided into the total amount of

wages received—\$676,028,592—the average is found to be \$568.41—a DECREASE of \$1.72 a year.

Considering the immense sum that goes to the already wealthy stockholders, considering the immense strain daily imposed in an ever-increasing degree on the railroad employees of the country, these official figures give the official definition of "prosperity" as INCREASED RICHES for the capitalist class and INCREASED LABOR with DECREASED WAGES for the working class.

All of which is commended to the attention of the Lynn, Mass., "Item," and all other videttes of capitalism—Messrs. Gompers, Clark, Mitchell, etc., of course, included—who are seeking to earn their wages in the Malapropian task of trying to keep back the Ocean of Socialism with the mop of capitalist false pretenses of prosperity.

"HALUNKES" AND "SCHURKES."

Big kang and little kang—
Who'd train with such a gang?
Scabs, who scabs' praises sang—
Skum of the dirty.

Minus both soul and sense,
Unmasked their vile intents,
They look like thirty cents
(Judas coins, thirty!)
—Straight Boy, London, Eng.

A ship in distress, casting overboard its most valuable articles so that it may keep afloat; a thief, hotly pursued and flinging about ejaculations of "Stop thief!" so that he may himself escape attention; a whaler, casting tubs at an enraged whale so as to gain time and get out of danger;—such is the picture that the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" is presenting just now when it hurls column after column, replete with "Halunkes" (scamp) and "Schuftes" (scamp, over again), at Parks and his fellows.

The Socialist Labor Party understands that given causes lead to given results. The pure and simple Trades Union is an obvious cause. It is an organization made up of workmen, drawn into its fold through the class instinct of Labor. That notwithstanding, the forces it gathers are organized on a principle that denies the class struggle, indeed, a principle that sets up the theory of the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor." The result from such causes is inevitable. Either such a body explodes on the spot, or, if it does not, it must be operated corruptly. There is no escaping the conclusion. These bodies did not explode. The first inevitable conclusion is that they are operated by "Halunkes" and "Schuftes." The second conclusion that follows inevitably is that these "Halunkes" and "Schuftes" are paid by the employers to do the dirty work of bull-dozing, hoodwinking, misleading and selling out the rank and file. There is a third conclusion, and that is that the "Halunkes" and "Schuftes" must "go divy" with some "labor paper," a paper that claims to be Socialist preferred, so as to give their "Halunkereis" and "Schuftereis" the glamour and authority of "Labor" and "Socialism." Nor did the facts that these conclusions lead to fail to turn up. The "New Yorker Volkszeitung," for the sake of the advertisements of "labels" that it knew to be worthless, for the sake of peace and peesiness, not only by its silence but by its acts upheld the "Schurkes" and "Halunkes," in other words, itself became a "Halunke" and a "Schurke," a worse "Halunke" and "Schurke" even than the others, because it knew better. It knew that the Socialist Labor Party attitude was correct; that every word we said was true; that every accusation we brought against these "Halunkes" and "Schurkes" for selling out the rank and file, for leading them into speculative and boss-incited strikes, for delivering them, tied hand and foot to the employer, was well founded. It knew all that, but the same gold that garrisoned the pockets of the Parkses in the interest of the capitalists, garrisoned the pockets of the Social Democratic "Volkszeitung" in the interest of the Parkses; it kept silent, or even calumniated the S. L. P. And thus the bond of "Halunkery" and "Schuftery" bound that paper and the Parkses together. And now when, owing to one of those logical turns of affairs, the capitalists have turned State's evidence, and the pals of the "Volkszeitung" are discovered, it sets up the cry of "Stop thief!" and acts in the manner that it does.

The Parkses are innocent alongside of the "Volkszeitung" and these miscreant Bogus Socialists. The Parkses are now on the pillory. That's but a first step. Infinitely worse awaits the "Volkszeitung" crew when the rank and file shall be thoroughly enlightened and shall discover the identity of "Halunkery" and

"Schurkery" from their exploiters down the line of the Labor Fakir and the peesiness Labor paper.

UNGRATEFUL PAPERMAKERS.

The Springfield Union appears very much hurt by the base ingratitude displayed by the papermakers in the nearby city of Holyoke, Mass., who have decided "by a large majority" to strike for an increase of wages. In a manner so typical of all those newspapers that are printed especially for the purpose of demonstrating their undying interest in "the cause of labor," it states in big headlines, that "2500 Operatives Earning \$3500 A Day Will Leave Work." Then, as if to accentuate this base action on the part of the operatives in deserting an occupation affording such princely remuneration, the Union adds, "All Mills of the American Writing Paper Company Come Under Ban of Union for Refusing to Grant an Increase of 20 Cents to Daily Wages of All Employees." Surely such workmen lack a sense of proportion and perspective. Think of leaving \$3500 a day for a paltry 20 cents!

It is true that \$3500 divided among 2500 operatives affords only \$1.40 a day, or \$8.40 a week per operative, unless some new method can be devised of stretching the figures without any injury to the facts. It is true that \$3500 divided among 2500 operatives a day gives an annual wage of \$422 per operative, which is \$15 a year less than the average annual wage received by each worker in these United States in 1900, according to the census figures for that year. It is true that the operatives are underpaid—but what of that? Think of their monstrously wrong action in leaving the \$3,500 daily, given them by capitalists, for whom they produce four times, for a paltry 20 cents a day!

Clearly the pain of the Springfield Union is justifiable, as is the pain of all "friends of labor," when labor acts in a manner detrimental to the interests of the capitalist. They are there to be pained and to insinuate that pain into the public mind in a manner that will make strikes appear unjustifiable and reprehensible. The Springfield Union is not hurt in vain. There is a method in its injury.

The Helca Iron Works, of Brooklyn, N. Y., is making history that will upset many a fine capitalist theory with a most emphatic thud. The company controlling these works is famous for having practiced co-operation and profit-sharing with its employees. The value of this scheme to the workman was heralded far and wide. It was asserted that the wages thus paid the Helca employees insured them greater comfort and security.

A month ago the first of the series of events that are giving the Helca Company its historical value occurred. Seven hundred employees were locked out because they TALKED of striking for more pay. This does not indicate "comfort and security." Men who can be locked out for TALKING strike and who find it necessary to so talk in order to improve their conditions are decidedly uncomfortable and insecure. But that is only one phase of the matter; "there are others."

Though these 700 employees have only been locked out a month and their families are reported in destitute circumstances. Stories are told of household goods pawned to satisfy family necessities, and of the men of families imploring for re-employment. According to the Secretary of the company 600 of the 700 have been given their former positions. The wages that were really paid these men were so small, that as soon as they were out of work they had to resort to the pawn shop to raise funds; and those wages were so little that the household goods these men received were of such small value that enough could not be realized on them to tide them over four weeks of lockout; but left them in such a position that they were driven to destitution and compelled to submit to a denial of their right to TALK of methods to improve that condition! How is that for "comfort and security"?

Go ahead, Messrs. Helca Iron Works! Keep up your warfare on the working men in your employ and expose the hypocritical philanthropy of capitalism to the workmen, who are otherwise deceived by the false pretenses of you and your profit-mongering class. Keep it up, until Socialism will bury you deeper than Mount Vesuvius buried rotten old Pompeii.

A book that ought to be called "Non-sense on the Labor Question," but is not, claims that the more unionism there is, the fewer strikes there are. Unionism was never so extensive as at present—nor were strikes so numerous.

Boston, it is declared, is sinking into the sea. How will the Universe revolve without its Hub?

Are we having a repetition of the Bull Pen in Morenci, Arizona? From this distance, it looks very much like it.

The following despatch deserves a place in our "Humor of the Day," but for fear that it will be overlooked, we put it here:

"Ann Arbor, Mich., June 18.—Senator Charles of Wisconsin, a Michigan University alumnus of '63, delivered the commencement address at the university to-day. The 818 graduates gathered at their various departments and marched to University Hall, where the commencement exercises were held. President J. B. Angell presented the diploma."

"Senator Charles took up the trust question and said:

"Whatever may be the ultimate influence of trusts on society, the steady process of consolidation is making every department of business more complicated and superintendence more difficult. Brains never before commanded so high a premium and the educated man never had so many avenues open to him outside the learned professions. There is at least some comfort in the fact that intellect can never be organized into a trust. The educated man will become not only independent, but indispensable."

It's a little funny to be told that brains are independent of trusts. John Foster, an Englishman who visited this country to study the trusts, writing in the Nineteenth Century, states that he found that "in all work not actually physical—that is, in work that is clerical, administrative, and supervisory—the wage has decreased." How's that for "high premium" and "independence" for brains?

When strikers refuse to return to work on their employers' premise that their grievances will be satisfactorily adjusted, they are denounced as suspicious, while homilies on the sacred word of honor of the capitalist is hurled at their heads by way of castigation and rebuke. But, judging from the skepticism with which Charles M. Schwab's offer to take back the Bethlehem plant from the defrauded bondholders of the United States Shipbuilding Company, is received, this distrust of capitalist promise is not confined to the working class alone. Schwab's offer is denounced by the lawyers who are fighting him as a "bluff" and "a spider and fly game." Taking it all in all, those phrases characterize a capitalist's "word of honor" quite aptly, for it is only a "bluff" and "a spider and fly game" given to promote capitalist interests.

An inventor wants \$50,000,000 damages from the Electric Trust. He claims that they have used his patents for years without paying him a cent of remuneration. The patents are in use on every electric railroad in the country. This claim is not remarkable or unique. Other inventors—John Bresin, for instance, who sued the Steel Trust and won millions, but never received a cent—have built up fortunes for capitalists without receiving any remuneration. Yet these same capitalists, acting on the policy of the fleeing burglar, who cries "Stop thief!" wants to know what Socialism will do with the inventor? Why, it will pay him for his labor—something capitalism does not do, as these suits testify.

The popular belief that the duty of the Immigration Bureau was to regulate immigration will now have to be dispelled. Frank P. Sargent, the Commissioner General of Immigration and ex-Grand Master of the Locomotive Firemen's Union, has just returned from Honolulu, and is making known "the needs" of the plantation owners there. Of course, "the needs" consist of cheap labor, and Sargent is trying to fill them.

Louis W. Hill, who represents his father, J. J. Hill, the Great Northern magnate, says: "The Northern Securities Company will not dissolve, even if the United Supreme Court upholds every contention made in the cases brought against the company." This is mighty hard on trust busting "by legislative and judicial means." What will the trust busters do now?

"Men are more important than money," says William C. Whitney. He doesn't fail to corner all the money he can get, however; even to the extent of overriding the minority stockholders of the Metropolitan. Then money is more important than men.

A People's party man in Denver wants to unite all the reform movements of the country. He should address the "Socialist" party. It has all that is required and is in need of uniting.

Roosevelt's policy of publicity for trusts will not be applied to postoffice scandals. Different conditions require different measures. What is good for the goose is not always good for the gander.

Judge Gummere, who holds that a child's life is not worth more than a dollar, is to try the railroad magnates responsible for the Clifton avenue crossing horror in Newark, N. J. The verdict is already in.

The new King of Servia is thanking God for the favors accorded him. It would be more reasonable and less blasphemous if he would thank Russia.

From Indianapolis, Ind., comes news of a revolt on the part of three locals of the Mine Workers' Union. Will it grow?



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Don't you think the Socialist Labor Party is somewhat intolerant?

UNCLE SAM—No, why?

B. J.—I'll tell you. It calls the labor leaders fakirs because they won't join the S. L. P.

U. S.—Where did you get that from?

B. J.—That is what the labor leaders say.

U. S.—But their saying does not make it so.

B. J.—But does not the S. L. P. call them fakirs?

U. S.—Whom, these professionals of the pure and simple stripes?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—It does.

B. J.—Well, there you have it. They are called fakirs because they won't join the party.

U. S.—Not at all; that is not the reason. There is a mighty good reason to call them fakirs; their not joining the S. L. P. would be no reason.

B. J.—And what is the reason?

U. S.—There are workmen who actually do still honestly indulge the superstition that the union and the strike and boycott are enough for all practical purposes; many a sincere worker holds the view; the blows he has received are not yet hard enough, and you know how difficult it is to rid oneself of a superstition if it once has taken hold.

B. J.—Yes, indeed, I do.

U. S.—Such workers and their leaders are looked upon rather with pity than contempt by the New Trades Unionists or Socialists; these never call them fakirs, but visionaries and illusionists.

B. J.—Well, then, whom do the New Trades Unionists call fakirs?

U. S.—But there are a good many others who have long since dropped the pure and simple superstition; who know that the industrial struggle or strikes and boycotts alone is not sufficient, and that the workmen must cast their ballots against both capitalism and capitalist candidates, but who, nevertheless, fight the S. L. P. with furious rage.

B. J.—Are these the ones the Socialists call fakirs?

U. S.—Yes, but not simply because they fight the S. L. P.

B. J.—For what other reason?

U. S.—People may entertain an honest conviction that, although a certain labor party has a correct platform, still it is constituted in a manner that they object to, and is led by people whom they sincerely mistrust.

B. J.—You should not call them fakirs for that?

U. S.—No, indeed! So long as they are honest in such conviction, they are no fakirs. But the test of their honesty is that they set up their own labor party, organized in such a way as they may choose, and led by such men as they may trust. That is the test. The workers who would do that are no fakirs; but those are fakirs, who, while calling themselves Socialists, and while objecting to the S. L. P., nevertheless deliberately abstain from setting up their own party. Such fellows are all-around fakirs; they prove that they are dishonest in their opposition to the S. L. P., that they do not mean well by labor; that they are on the make even if they have to play into the hands of the capitalists by trading on their class.

B. J.—Such people surely are fakirs!

U. S.—And such are the "labor leaders" whom the New Trades Unionists and Socialists hold up with a pitchfork to the well merited execration of the working class.

It is becoming clear that John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s Sunday school is simply a medium through which that young man influences opinion in favor of the system by which his father profits so much. With the aid of the capitalist press the Sunday school lessons are repeated in Monday's paper, where they have a decidedly larger class of pupils and prove the value of the young man's institution as a capitalist defense.

From St. Louis there has come during the past weeks reports of loss of life and suffering from floods at that point. It is a pleasure, in view of these reports, to receive the minutes of the Missouri State Committee in that city, showing the members thereof energetically at work promoting the organization of the S. L. P. This is another indication of the sterling qualities of the membership of the S. L. P. Amid all kinds of calamities—political, economical and natural—it swerves neither to the right nor the left, but sticks to its task of organizing the working class army of emancipation. Such qualities are bound to win in the long run.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will be treated as such. Their names will be given in full, and their signatures and addresses will be given in full, and their signatures and addresses will be given in full.]

The Influence of the Party Press.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I read with interest the articles in The Daily and Weekly People about the reorganization of the movement in Great Britain. As I read of the work of our revolutionary comrades over there I could not help appreciating the fact that it is the S. L. P. of the United States press, The Daily, The Weekly and The Monthly People, that is to-day carrying the moral influence of sound revolutionary tactics and of class conscious proletarian organization to the remotest corner of the English speaking world.

The Daily People, the champion of the working class, is doing the work of agitating, educating and organizing. It strikes the grafters of the British Domain, as well as of America, and makes them wince every time. Like Thor of old, it carries on perpetual warfare, and its hammer blows fall squarely on the head of the capitalist class and all the upholders of the capitalist system.

"The proof of the pudding lies in the eating," is an old saying. So, also, the influence, direct and indirect, which The People is having on the labor movement to-day ought to sufficiently demonstrate its value to the world's working class. It is the greatest weapon of the movement to-day, and he who "reads not to contradict, but to weigh and consider" can not help reach this conclusion.

Now, comrades, can we afford to be without this weapon? I think we will all agree that we can not. Then is it not a shame that the strong arm of our press shall be tied up, so to speak, with a debt that we could clear at once, if we but made up our minds to it. The debt, it seems, has stood long enough, and with it removed we would be free to build up.

The plan adopted, to shift the debt upon the members, I think is a wise one. Remember, it is our press, and as such it is to our interest to place it in such a position that it can do its work well and open the eyes of the wage slaves, so that they will strike an intelligent blow for freedom. I have sent in two loan certificates, and have the promise of some more.

Let no one hold back who can do something. Yours for the S. L. P.

C. A. Johnson.

Minneapolis, Minn., June 11, 1903.

Big Crowd Learns the Difference Between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The comrades of the First, Third and Fifth Assembly Districts attended a freak out door meeting last Saturday evening at the corner of Hudson and Canal streets. James N. Wood was the first speaker. He is one of the local Kangaroos who started the "The New York Socialist and Trade Union Review," a short time ago for the purpose of showing up the rottenness of the "Worker." The paper had to be discontinued for financial reasons, so Wood flopped back again and Saturday evening he was whooping it up for the "Worker," having swallowed his own words: "the powers against which we strike." We were there with a copy of the "N. Y. Socialist and Trade Union Review" to show that he is working for something new that he admitted was rotten two months ago, but his audience of a dozen people was so small that we did not think it worth while.

The next speaker Searing, Wood's lawyer, shouted himself red in the face telling the audience how the cost of living could be reduced through government ownership of the telegraph.

An S. L. P. man asked what was the difference between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. Searing's answer was a jumble of nonsense and his statements were challenged. He was asked to give one of us the platform to refute what he had said, but tried to ignore us by addressing the audience and telling what a big vote they got.

The writer asked him if the S. D. P. did not get its big vote by allowing its candidates to run on Republican and Democratic tickets. Searing asked me where such a thing had happened and I answered all over the country, and at the same time handed him a copy of the leaflet, "The Difference," saying it contained the names of a whole string of his men who had done it. The whole crowd which by this time numbered three hundred, including the policemen, closed in on me, all reaching for a leaflet.

The Kangaroo's meeting broke up with every one in the crowd in possession of "The Difference."

The next morning (Sunday) we went over where the meeting was held and sold copies of The Sunday People. Altogether 161 copies were sold in the First Third, and Fifth Assembly Districts. Down with the Kangaroos.

A. S.

New York, June 16.

Police Tactics in Philadelphia.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The police are endeavoring to prevent the Socialist Labor Party from holding meetings in Philadelphia. They have interrupted two successive Saturday

evening meetings in the north plaza of the City Hall, and only by showing a firm front will the party be able to maintain its right to free speech.

The methods employed against the S. L. P. give evidence of being carefully planned. On Saturday, June 6, a suspicious looking character started a meeting near where the S. L. P. usually holds forth. He commenced to speak three-quarters of an hour before the S. L. P. meeting was to open, and his talk was a foamy tirade against "political Socialists." He accused them of being anarchists and instigators of assassination. His only object in speaking was to attack the Socialists. The police did not attempt to prevent his lying talk, though his statements caused him to be ridiculed and jostled by the small crowd he gathered.

Shortly after the S. L. P. opened fire, though, and had begun to draw the crowd, the policeman interfered and commanded both speakers to stop. He said that he had "received orders to stop meetings there." He had permitted the opponent of Socialism to speak for an hour, though.

After deliberation, the members decided to adjourn the meeting and interview the Superintendent of Police. That individual was out and he was not seen until Tuesday when he explained that he had neglected to inform the officer on the beat that the meeting was to be held. He assured the committee that protection would be provided for the next meeting.

That meeting was held last night. From the first it was seen that there were persons present who desired to break up the meeting—the foamy opponent of Socialism among them. Their efforts failed until one of them succeeded in inducing an unwitting bystander to ask if the S. L. P. justified the assassination of the late King and Queen of Serbia.

The endeavor of the speaker to show that the capitalist educators were responsible for such acts because they put the blame for social evils upon an individual, if possible, rather than on the social system, thereby sacrificing an individual to preserve the system; his endeavor to show that the overthrow of one set of capitalist rulers and the establishment of another set in power would not benefit the working class, and that, consequently, the Socialist Labor Party did not justify but unqualifiedly condemned such acts, was interpreted by the Dogberry present to mean "that the organization to which the speaker belonged had committed the act." The policeman commanded the meeting to stop on the ground that the speaker had made the above quoted statement.

As there seemed to be a premeditated plan to stop the meeting, the members decided to adjourn this meeting also, and to discuss the subject carefully at the section meeting on Tuesday evening, when it will be decided whether it is opportune for the section to fight for the right of free speech or not at present. One thing certain, it must be fought for if it would be maintained, and if we are able, why not make the stand now?

C. C. W.

Philadelphia, June 14.

S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. Influence in New England.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The enclosed clipping will prove interesting. They relate to the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the strike of the Lynn shoe workers, in which it took an active part.

The clippings are from the Lowell Sun of June 15, a newspaper that will not print a paid advertisement of our section meeting. Enough said. Fraternally,

Joseph Youngjohns,

Organizer Section Lowell.

Lowell, Mass., June 16, 1903.

[Enclosures.]

LABOR UNIONS

Denounced as "Disgrace and Injury" by Catholic Priest.

(By Associated Press to The Sun.) Waterville, Me., June 15.—During a sermon by Father N. Charland, pastor of St. Francis de Sales' Catholic Church, yesterday morning, that gentleman, while touching upon the condition of the country, declared that labor unions are an injury to the workingman, a disgrace to the country and against individual liberty.

As usual, the major portion of Father Charland's auditors were laboring people. Recently the labor unions have increased in this city, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has taken a firm hold.

The remarks of Father Charland stirred the leaders of the Alliance a good deal, and members of the labor unions have freely discussed what he said.

PEOPLE CHEERED.

Demonstration in the Lynn Strike. (By Associated Press to The Sun.)

Lynn, Mass., June 15.—In the pouring rain to-day fifty Knights of Labor cutters and the same number of Knights of Labor stichers marched from Knights of Labor headquarters to the Harney Bros' shoe factory and went to work, after being on strike since January 18.

The firm is from to-day running a free shop, and the Knights of Labor consider that a victory has been won over the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. All along the way people cheered the marching workers, and at the factory the entire force of lasters, all members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, came out and cheered the returned operatives. This disposes of all rumors that the lasters would strike and refuse to work with Knights of Labor men. It also emphasizes the report of disloyalty in

the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union ranks. The Harney Bros. lasters declared to-day that they are through paying dues in the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. By the end of the week the firm expects to have about 100 stichers at work. To-day the factory is not ready for the full complement.

Active S. L. P. Man Arrested.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It appears that the capitalists are beginning to realize that the local agent, John Farrell, is in earnest and doing effective work.

Two weeks ago Sunday he was distributing leaflets on the Centralville side of this city. Of course, it is not right to be distributing unchristian literature on the Sabbath. The result was that he had to march to the police station to account for his conduct. After a short stay with the officers of the law, and a good lecture to them on class-conscious Socialism and a few leaflets to read, Farrell was turned loose.

It appears that the officer who arrested Farrell is running a soup-house to feed the children of the operatives out on strike. Naturally he was offended to have Farrell come around waking up the people to their real sense of duty. Surely he was afraid the soup business would go under. But instead of subduing Farrell he only added fuel to the fire, for Farrell is fighting the enemy with greater determination.

The new park commission recently elected by the people is starting in nicely by warning the people, through the press, that they won't allow any literature to be given away or subscriptions solicited for papers in the parks. That is another drive against the S. L. P. Nevertheless, Comrade Farrell will keep up the good fight, and is determined to see it to a finish. Fraternally,

Press Committee.

Lowell, Massachusetts.

Who Are the Scabs—Davis's Shop Again.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The first gun of the campaign was fired here on Saturday evening, the 13th inst. Comrade Charles H. Corrigan was the speaker. Comrade Corrigan began his address with an exposition of the commodity nature of labor power under capitalist production, showing that the price of labor power cannot raise above the necessities of life.

"Why," asked the speaker, "if trade unionism, pure and simple, can improve the condition of the workers, as the labor leaders claim, why don't you strike in the fall of the year? Because you know that then the supply of labor is greater than the demand. When the spring comes you know that, owing to building operations, the demand for labor power increases; then you strike. The moment machinery is introduced so as to make the supply permanently greater than the demand, then you must submit to the dictation of the capitalist class—the owners of the machinery of production."

"Laws will continue so long as you vote your masters into power. The only way to change these conditions is to abolish capitalism by voting for the party of your class—the Socialist Labor Party."

At the beginning the speaker's voice was clear and forcible, when suddenly his voice began to give out. He turned to us, saying: "Boys, my voice fails me; I must stop." He did not give up until he practically could not utter a sound.

Comrade Lemon then took the platform, and for a beginner done splendidly. While Lemon was speaking one Youngblood of Kangaroo proclivities, asked the old Kangaroo chestnut, "Did you not scab in Davis' shop? I have documentary evidence, written by Daniel de Leon, to prove it." At this Comrade Corrigan recovered his voice.

"Any man," Corrigan said, "who says that the S. L. P. scabbed anywhere is a liar" (turning to the Kangaroo) "and you know it. Who are those who accuse the S. L. P.? The International Cigar-Makers, the scabbiest organization of all pure-and-simple trade unions. Who does not remember the time when the blue label scabbed it on the white label K. of L. organization. Every time the white label men struck the blue label men took their places, until the K. of L. Cigar-Makers' Union was ruined. Who scabbed it on the Spanish cigar-makers in Tampa, Florida? Again this same scabby crew of the blue label. What was the case in Davis' shop? The fakirs, who make their living on "strike committees," who are always on the lookout for "graff," finding that there is some trouble, attempted to call the men on strike—men who did not belong to the Cigar-Makers' Union, Davis' being an open shop. The men, knowing these fakirs, voted by an overwhelming majority refused to go out. The twenty men belonging to the International went out, and because 300 men did not do as the fakirs wanted them to do—men, mind you, over whom these fakirs had no jurisdiction—these dupes here repeat what the fakirs stuffed them with and about scab."

Applause greeted the speaker's expose of the corruption practiced by the leaders of pure-and-simple trade unionism. We sold thirty-eight books (all we had) got a subscription for The Weekly People, distributed 300 leaflets ("The Difference") and put the Kangaroo on the jump again.

After the meeting was over there was quite a crowd on the sidewalk, and they continued the meeting until 12 o'clock. Comrade Lemon, assisted by sympathizers, put the finishing touches on the Kangaroo and pure-and-simple. The meeting was a success in every way.

Charles Zolot.

Peakkill, June 15, 1903.

UNDERSTANDS THE DIFFERENCE.

And So He Resigns From the Bogus Socialist Party to Join the S. L. P.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Please find enclosed money to renew my subscription for another year.

I am satisfied now, after looking into and comparing both sides carefully, that I thoroughly understand the difference between the S. L. P. and other so-called "Socialist" parties. The one is the genuine working class movement, and others are counterfeits. This is rather a short definition, but straight to the point.

After proving this to my entire satisfaction there was only one course left for me to pursue, and that was to put myself right, which I did by resigning as a member of the Mills' Socialist (?) party, stating carefully my reasons for so doing at a regular meeting of the local, which were not disputed, and have filled out an application to join the S. L. P. as a member-at-large. There are not enough of us here to organize a section just yet.

I must say that the "Wage Worker," published by Section Detroit, S. L. P., has helped me considerably to clear up. Yours truly,

Alban E. Higgins.

Kalamazoo, Mich., June 15, 1903.

Massachusetts State Canvassers' First Meeting.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In order that the comrades throughout the Bay State may put on their fighting "togs" and press forward upon the enemies of the working class, I desire to let them know through the columns of The People of the first meeting of my trip held last evening, June 17, Bunker Hill Day, a good day to begin bombarding the labor fakir and his scab furnishing assistants, the "Socialist" party, the very bitter enemies and the most treacherous traitors against which we must warn our class to give a wide berth, all of which was pointed out last evening and the interest manifested together with the questions asked proves that the rank and file are willing to hear us.

"Comrades, make yourselves known!" After talking two hours—from eight until ten o'clock—I opened the meeting for questions, and answered the usual pure and simple "Socialist" questions. One of the Kangaroos asked, "Was not Carey justified in voting for the Army under the present system? Did it not give work for the working class?"

When I pointed out the principle involved and showed the audience where the Kangaroo's logic would lead him, namely, "that if some one would come up and blow his head off it would be a good thing, as it would give some undertaker a chance to work," the crowd laughed.

A number of books were sold and one yearly subscription for The Weekly was received. Friday evening we intend to go over to Chicopee Falls to hold a meeting. The town has a Kangaroo Alderman.

Next week I go to Holyoke, where the slaves of the paper mills are having a dispute with their "Little Brother Capital."

Fraternally,

W. H. Carroll.

Springfield, Mass., June 18.

A "Daily People Lie" "Refuted" Once More.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—On May 5, I sent a letter to our party organs showing how the brewery workers' leaders had betrayed the men in their strike and then had brass enough to go before them and present them with the terms of surrender—agreement—that they, the leaders, had made with the bosses for the rank and file, who were on the verge of winning and were determined to continue the strike to success, and who were wild with the action thus taken.

This letter appeared in The Weekly People of June 6, under the satirical heading "A Daily People Lie" Refuted—The Brave Men of the A. F. of L." There were some who doubted the correctness of the facts stated therein. Let them be convinced by the following from the local press.

A Pure and Simple "Union" Smasher.

Columbus, O., June 17.

[ENCLOSURES]

[Columbus Daily Press, Tuesday, June 16.]

The situation between the brewery proprietors and the unions involved in the late unpleasantness is becoming more and more involved daily. The engineers are dissatisfied with the status of affairs, the firemen are endeavoring to straighten matters and the brewery workers' various organizations are on tenterhooks, any incident showing unfriendliness being liable to precipitate trouble. The delay which at first was thought calculated to allay irritation and produce contentment has worked the other way. There is liable to be as big trouble as there was originally, and there might not be such a fortunate ending.

Coony J. Metzgar, a member of local No. 89, International Union of Steam Engineers, was suspended Monday by the international organization without any information as to charges against him. The presumption is that he was suspended for his work in the brew-

ery strike. The local refused to ratify the action of the international union in face of the fact that their charter will likely be taken up. President Light-hall has not looked with favor on Metzgar and threatened him at Toronto, Can., when they met there on opposite sides of the question then up before the executive board of the American Federation of Labor.

II.

[Columbus Daily Press, Wednesday, June 17.]

Secretary Louis Kemper, of the International Brewery Workmen of America, arrived in the city Tuesday night preparatory to taking up the final work in the settlement of the brewery troubles.

The mass meeting of the various unions was a lively session and all the grievances of the men were fully discussed.

"There is no doubt that the men are dissatisfied and that the non-union men are the bone of the contention," said Mr. Kemper. "It was the express understanding that all those who could be admitted to the union under the constitution would be admitted, barring none who were capable. On the other hand those who were rejected for the reason that they could not be admitted under the constitution should be dismissed on notification by the secretary of the unions that the parties were rejected. We stand by the letter of the agreement with the Brewers, and they must stand by their agreement with us. That is all there is to the present trouble. I think that it will be settled amicably, but it will not be our fault if it is not. UNION MEN ALL OVER THE CITY ARE INDIGNANT AT US BECAUSE WE EVEN ACCEPTED SUCH TERMS AND AGREED TO ALLOW THE NON-UNION STRIKE BREAKERS TO RETURN EVEN ONE DAY."

The "Sacrifices" of N. L. Griest.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The recent city election in El Paso serves the useful purpose of showing up the aims and object of a labor fakir. A little over a year ago, I had some correspondence with Nathan L. Griest relative to the organization of an S. L. P. section in El Paso. He was then in San Francisco, and was, he said, a very busy man and engaged in so many and mysterious enterprises that he couldn't possibly reach Texas until May. May came and so did Griest.

About that time Comrade Lyons was whitecapped by those law and order defenders in Beaumont, and Griest on hearing of it began to have symptoms of "blood boiling." His sanguinary spirit rose to 300 degrees Fahrenheit. He wanted to go at once to the scene of the outrage, but made no effort to put himself in communication with the Texas S. E. C. for that purpose.

He remained with me nine days and then went to El Paso ostensibly to begin agitation and organization of a section. He made one talk to the "freaks" in El Paso and then stopped all attempts at agitation or organization. Later he wrote that he could get employment as business manager of the El Paso Daily News at \$80 per month, if I would recommend him for the place, which I did.

From that time Griest's pace was rapid. He was both a "Socialist" and a fakir. Felix Martinez, the owner of the News, saw the possibilities of a "labor" movement with a henchman of the Griest type under his control, and a Union Labor ticket was soon the result. This Union Labor ticket was called such presumably because it had but one Union Labor candidate on it, the rest of the lambs being lawyers and bank directors, with offices in the Wells-Fargo Building in El Paso. Less, now in jail in San Francisco for stealing the funds of a barbers' union in that city, and Griest, Martinez's hired man, were two of the leading spirits in this "revolt" of "labor" against "capital."

Griest was editor of the El Paso Labor Journal, and conducted a campaign of abuse that brought him personal encounters with the rawboned Democrats, who vindicated themselves with six-shooters. The fear of defeat on election day in case matters took a tragic turn was undoubtedly the only reason that Griest got out alive. The rawhide Democrats spent large sums of money to carry the day, and would not jeopardize their chances by a killing. Of course, the ballot was "purified," as usual, and the Union Labor ticket failed to carry a single ward, but was beaten by over 400 votes. The day after election Griest resigned from the Labor Journal and left town, en route to California, with \$5,000 in his pocket, my informant in this case being J. A. Lowe, El Paso, Tex. The rawboned Morehead Democrats spent \$20,000, and Martinez, Griest's boss, spent \$24,000 on that April election.

The moral of this tale is, don't put your trust in "intellectuals" who are always "sacrificing" themselves for labor—a la Griest.

A. S. Dowler.

San Antonio, Tex., June 10, 1903.

The S. L. P. in Michigan.

The Socialist Labor Party candidates received the following number of votes this spring:

Peter Friesema, Jr., for Justice of the Supreme Court, 3,551 votes.

Vernon F. King, Regent of the University, 3,768. Henry Ulbricht, Regent of the University, 3,774.

This is an increase of over 2,500 votes against last fall.—The Wage Worker, Detroit, Mich., official organ of the S. L. P. of Michigan.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

O. M. J., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—1 The entire is A No. 1. It will be published in The Daily of next Sunday, Weekly of July 4.

2 It is a positive loss to the movement that the critics of the S. L. P. have sense enough to be ashamed of their own motives and views. If they did not have that sense of shame they would say what they mean, and then much light could be cast into the eyes of the on-looking multitudes. As they do have that sense of shame, they suppress their real views and motives; thus becoming hypocrites, they slide rapidly into mere vituperation. And there discussion ends. Vainly does one look for a single argument against the S. L. P. And yet those people wonder at the Party's invulnerability and jeanness. Few things add greater swing to an army under fire than to feel that only blank cartridges are fired against it.

J. M. WATERTOWN, N. Y.—The Phoenix, Ariz., item from the Watertown "Standard" is a garbled report. Hence incomprehensible. What happened was this: The miners of Arizona demanded an eight-hour day. What does the demand imply? It implies that, seeing their wages are but a small part of their production, they demand that at least the hours of exploitation be lessened. It follows that they wanted shorter hours and the same pay, which still would be but a small fraction of their product. The companies then decided to repeal the law, by lowering the wages. What the miners refused to submit to is not the eight-hour law, but the amended eight-hour law—amended by the manufacturers in their private hours.

T. F. S., OSCEOLA MILLS, PA.—Shall try to find out who the party is.

T. O., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—There are 111,638 clergymen in the country, 108,265 male and 3,373 female; 114,400 lawyers, 113,450 male and 1,010 female; and 83,740 saloon-keepers, 81,000 male and 2,086 female.

More next time.

R. M. D., CHICAGO, ILL.—1 When a company offers its stock for sale it offers it at the price it would like to get. When brokers offer that same stock for sale at a much lower price it is a sign that the company's price is visionary. If the company offers at \$10 and brokers offer at 6 cents, it is a pretty good sign that the thing is as near to a swindle as possible.

2 "Capitalization" does not mean ready cash on hand. It means the value at which the component companies were bought out, and for which stock was issued.

More next time.

S. S., NEW YORK.—You do Roosevelt injustice in that matter. He did not "give taffy" to the committee of B'nai B'rith who addressed him on Kishineff. Just the other way. They went there with expostulations against Russia. And what did he answer? This is a passage from his answer to the committee: "That Government (the Russian) takes the same view of those outrages that our own Government takes of the riots and lynchings which sometimes occur in our country, BUT DO NOT CHARACTERIZE EITHER OUR GOVERNMENT OR OUR PEOPLE."—In other words, he gave the committee the "lie courteous."

C. W., CINCINNATI, O.—Such articles of pure blackguardism in the "Brauer Zeitung" against the solid facts and cogent arguments of The People are nothing new. They were frequent under the editorial management of Ernest Kurzenkable and of his successor, Jacob Franz. The former even went so far as to meet undeniable charges by suggesting that the Editor of The People was a certain "Prof. De Leon"—a wretch who had a dozen aliases, that one among them, and who was convicted of nameless crimes and who at the time was in the penitentiary, as was well known by the said Kurzenkable. And where are he and Franz now? Both were thrown overboard by the Brewers for serious misdemeanors. The present incumbent, W. E. Trautmann, will also go the way of all such "flesh."—And The People will go marching on. Such kind of matter is below answering.

F. R., NEW YORK.—Syphilis—the fear of the disease through promiscuous intercourse—could not have had any bearing upon the origin of the family, i. e., monogamy. Syphilis is a comparatively modern disease. Monogamy preceded it by thousands of years. Possibly fear of the disease may be, with some people, a reason for marriage; and in so far it may be said to promote the maintenance of the family. But an institution such as that of the family can not be said to be either promoted by or to start from such causes—any more than from the desire of clergymen for marriage fees.

W. T., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The big and important mistake in the article "Prosperity! Sure!" was obviously a typographical error. The others, and trifling ones, were derelictions of our "Addition, Subtraction and Division Man," for which he has been "hailed over the coals." The corrections are all appreciated. You will find all the corrections made in The Weekly insertion of the article.

2 Apply at "Poor's Railroad Manual," this city.

C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.—No; the country is not on a greenback basis. The banking and credit system of capitalism give a color to the belief. But these very acrobatic performances of finance couldn't last twenty-four hours if, indeed, the financial basis of the country were greenbackism. Read the recently issued Labor News Company pamphlet, "Money." Get it. Of course, when the panic comes, these performances will have greatly aggravated matters.

C. P., NEW YORK.—It is unexplainable how that change was made on the list of the Party's vote. The vote is 53,763.

J. A. R., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—1 There is, of course, always danger of

a principle being misunderstood, unless historic facts are kept in mind. So with this S. L. P. principle regarding the acceptance of political jobs at the hands of capitalist governments. This city's history furnished an illustration in point of what must be kept in mind. At one time we had a "double-headed" Police Commissionership. That is to say, two were to be of the party in power and two of the next highest. Tammany being in power, two were regulation Tammany men, and the two Republicans had to be appointed by Tammany. How was it done? The Republican organization nominated regularly two candidates, but almost as regularly the two did not suit Tammany, and it picked out two others to its taste. Net result, Tammany created a split in the Republican camp. The S. L. P. will have to guard against any such contingencies.

2 An innocent man may slip out of innocence; his subsequent conduct will cleanse his act of all stain. The subsequent conduct of Mr. Cameron King Jr. fastens on him a guilty intent.

3 As to who was the "third party" at that juncture in San Francisco, conflicting statements have run in here. It would be a favor to furnish this office with the actual figures, officially entered for all the parties then in the field.

W. D., UTICA, N. Y.—1 A great mistake. By waiting to read this Debels "Woman" until the installment translations in The People are put into book form you deprive yourself of much information from week to week. The work is not a novel with a plot. It is a string of information, and that can not be appropriated by one reading. By these installment publications a rare opportunity is offered of gathering information from week to week, which will be understood only so much better by reading the book itself when out. The book will appear in September or October. If you can not conveniently start in now from the first issue, then start in this week. Never leave for to-morrow what you can do to-day.

2 The average number of wage-earners employed in Utica (1900) is 6,274, earning a total wage of \$3,177,504, or \$402 on an average.

The rest next week.

"STUDENT," CHICAGO, ILL.—Quite a thinker warns the human race against mistaking "bladders for lanterns," that is, passions for reasoning, eloquent lamentations for systems, and the cries of the heart for conclusions. The mistake of the bona fide Socialists, who train with bona fide pure-and-simple unionism lies in that they do mistake bladders for lanterns, that is, passions for reasoning, eloquent lamentations for systems, and the cries of the heart for conclusions. Pure-and-simple unionism—that is to say, the bona fide species of the genus—is a bladder, not a lantern; its acts are passions, not reasoning; its utterances are sounds, not conclusions; its utterances are cries of the heart, not conclusions. The whole thing has to be reorganized upon a basis of reasoning, conclusions and system.

H. S. D., SACRAMENTO, CAL.—Such a letter is too valuable for a Letter-Box answer. It was meant to form—published in full—the subject for editorial comment in this issue. Was crowded out. Will be so treated

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kahn, Secretary, 24 New Redd street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 236½ Dundas street.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 24 New Redd street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held June 19, at 2-6 New Redd street, with John Donohue in the chair. Absent, Hammer and Klein. The financial report ending June 13 showed receipts \$76.10; expenditures, \$105.50.

Communications: From Cleveland, Ohio, relative to Party control of the property of the Socialistic Arbeiter Zeitung acquired with funds now collected by the Party, and showing the steps taken to secure the property. The N. E. C. has appointed Comrade John D. Goercke the custodian of this property. From Providence, R. I., minutes of recent state convention and copy of a resolution adopted at a "Sahial" meeting. From Pennsylvania S. E. C., with resolutions adopted at State Convention and report of S. E. C. submitted to that gathering. From Section Worcester, Mass., proposing a plan to raise funds for the National campaign, the Section to take in hand its execution. The latter part of the proposition was not thought feasible, because such a plan, to have proper weight, should proceed directly from the national organization. A committee of two was chosen to look into the matter, form a large committee composed of members in New York and New Jersey, and report back to the N. E. C. at next meeting.

Charles Pierson, the canvasser for the Party press sent out on the road by the Illinois S. E. C., reported from Galesburg, Ill., relative to his work and showing methods employed by him to get subs. and sell literature. Comrade Pierson has been very successful in his work, due to his persistent efforts and the methods employed. From Glasgow, Scotland, about charges for literature and requesting permission to reprint adaptations of our leaflets; also requesting an assortment of same for samples. Request granted. From San Francisco, Cal., and from the California S. E. C., both communications showing the work done for the Party press. From Detroit, Mich., reporting large increase of the vote in the State at recent elections. From San Francisco, Cal., a complaint that California S. E. C. rejected application for membership at large. The secretary was instructed to inform complainant that N. E. C. has jurisdiction over members at large only in unorganized States and that in all organized States the respective S. E. C.'s have final jurisdiction.

From Colorado S. E. C. a communication setting forth the work done in the State, particularly the agitation of Comrades Veal and Vaughan. Section Passaic County, N. J., asked for speaker on June 22. Attended to. Section New York reported expulsion of Jos. P. Reilly for withholding Party funds and contempt. From Section North Hudson, N. J., reporting expulsion of Otto Becker for not appearing before Grievance Committee to answer charges for having last fall voted for a capitalist candidate. From Hamilton, Canada, asking space in The Weekly People for some internal matter, seemingly a controversy with the Canadian N. E. C. The letter having arrived shortly before the session opened, no information of any sort was at hand. Resolved to lay the matter over and instruct the Secretary to gather what information he can from the editor of The People.

A committee from the Socialist Literature Club appeared and asked that the club be empowered to transfer its work of providing literature in the Jewish language to the Progressive Socialist Club. Action deferred until the Socialist Literature Club is heard from in writing.

Communications were on hand from a number of other places dealing with routine matter, ordering dues, stamps, etc. Adjourned.

Edward C. Schmidt,
Recording Secretary.

Massachusetts S. E. C.

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts held its regular meeting at Boston on May 24, 1903, with John H. Hogan, of Lynn, in the chair. All delegates were present except Ferguson, of Everett.

Communications: From Woburn and Salem, asking for Renzied accounts of their indebtedness to the S. E. C. From C. H. Corregan, of New York, declining nomination for State Organizer.

The Greater Boston Entertainment Committee reported selling bicycle to Edward Condon, of Salem, Mass., and turned over \$102.79 to the S. E. C.

The committee in charge of a benefit for Comrade Henley's mother put in a progressive report, as also did the committee on election laws.

The Daily People Fair Committee reported that they wouldn't print list of prize winners, and would present a final report in the near future.

The Organizer Fund Committee turned over \$20 to the organizer fund.

The committee elected to draw up suitable prizes to the one who sent in the largest number of Monthly People subscriptions was given fully power to carry out its plans.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

W. H. Carroll, of Boston, was elected State Organizer.

The Secretary was instructed to notify Section Everett to have its delegate attend the meetings of the S. E. C.

The seat of Delegate Ferguson, of Everett, on the Agitation Committee was declared vacant, and Chester, of Cambridge, was elected to fill the vacancy.

The Agitation Committee was given full power to direct the work of the State Organizer.

The resignation of Young, of Boston, from the Agitation Committee was accepted and nominations for the vacancy were laid over until the next meeting.

It was voted to put Frank B. Jordan on the road until June 15.

It was voted to lay the communication from The Daily People Finance Committee over until next meeting.

It was voted to turn the communication from C. W. Doyle over to the Agitation Committee.

It was voted that the sections be charged 5 cents per copy for the new State constitutions.

The Literary Agent of Section Boston was instructed to turn over the literature of the S. E. C. to the Agitation Committee.

The Auditing Committee reported finding the accounts of the Financial Secretary-Treasurer correct.

John W. Ryan, Secretary,
70 Adams street, Lynn, Mass.

Columbus, Attention.

Readers of The People and the general public of Columbus are hereby invited to attend a dance and social, under the auspices of Section Columbus, Socialist Labor Party, at Buckeye Hall, 71½ East State street, on Thursday evening, July 2.

As Buckeye Hall is pleasantly located and favored with pleasant breezes and good ventilation, a good time may be expected.

The Committee of Arrangements wish to urge upon the readers of The People in Columbus that they give their best support to this occasion, as money is needed by the section to carry on the local work. Refreshments will be served. Tickets, 15c. Oscar Freer, Organizer.

To Organize in Queens County.

A meeting to organize a branch of the Socialist Labor Party in Queens County will take place on Friday, June 26, 8 p. m., at the residence of Comrade Valentine, 303 Seventeenth avenue, Long Island City.

Sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party of Queens County who are desirous of joining are kindly requested to attend. L. Abelson, Organizer.

L. A. No. 267, Lynn, Mass.

Hereafter the regular business meetings of L. A. No. 267, S. T. & L. A., will be held on Monday evening of each week at 26 Monroe street, Lynn, Mass. The next regular meeting will be held on Monday, June 29, at 8 p. m. All members are urgently requested to attend. Secretary.

Section Hartford, Attention.

The semi-annual meeting will be held Wednesday, July 1, at 8 p. m. sharp. As election of officers and committees will take place, and other important business be considered, all members must be present. Organizer.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The Daily People Finance Committee has submitted the appended schedule to show what an amount of good work has been accomplished by the party organizations mentioned; and, while it is a very good showing for seven weeks' work, those organizations whose names are absent from the list must not get so enthusiastic over the results shown as to feel warranted in sitting idly by and admiring the work done by others.

The list is arranged according to States, and does not include Daily People loan certificates upon which part payments have been made.

New York—New York City, 44; Yonkers, 2; Troy, 6; Rochester, 1. Pennsylvania—Patten, 3. California—Los Angeles, 17; San Francisco, 1. Massachusetts—Boston, 4; Woburn, 3. Connecticut—Stamford, 1; Bridgeport, 4. Colorado—Colorado Springs, 1; Gladstone, 1; Denver, 1. Nebraska—Lincoln, 3. New Jersey—Paterson, 6; Hoboken, 1. Ohio—Cleveland, 4; Cincinnati, 1; Geneva, 1; Columbus, 1. Virginia—Roanoke, 3. Minnesota—Minneapolis, 2; Missouri—St. Louis, 4. Rhode Island—Providence, 1. Washington—Seattle, 5. South Dakota—Lead, 1. Texas—Houston, 1. Michigan—Detroit, 2. Total, 124.

Comrade Pierson, of Illinois, has just finished his work at Galesburg, Ill. During his stay of five days there he secured fifty-five subscribers for The Monthly and three for The Weekly People.

Samples of the kind of orders that should be coming in every week from good-sized sections are: William Walker, Seattle Wash., 15 weeklies and 10 monthlies; J. R. Strupel, St. Louis, Mo., 16 weeklies.

A large number of sections are sending in very few subscribers.

We would suggest that those who offer prizes offer them to their own section or district, so that the burden of keeping a record of all who send in subscriptions may fall on them. Our office force is small, and unless the prize offered is of such a character as to warrant its being offered to any one in any section of the country, it will save a great deal of labor at this end if the prizes are offered to a section or district, and all subscriptions turned over to some comrade in such section or district, so that he may keep a record of them.

MANIFESTO

Of the German Social Democratic Party to the German Voters

Berlin "Vorwarts," May 1, 1903.

Voters: With to-day's session, the Reichstag, elected June, 1898, has come to a close.

In returning our mandates to the voters, we believe with a clear conscience to be able to leave to them to pass judgment upon our record.

When, in the spring of 1898, we published our call for the election, we promised to battle against injustice, oppression and exploitation of all shapes, and to promote progress in all ways. We have honestly kept our word.

We have done what we could to remove injustice, to pilory violence, to prevent exploitation, to fight oppression and to promote progress.

If but too often we fail to reach what we aim to reach the cause lay in the small number of our delegation, which faced a large majority of adversaries.

Sad to say, the last five years have brought but little in matters of progress that we believed we should support, and but too much in the matter of burdens laid upon the people, and oppression.

The old Navy bill of 1898 was followed by another and more oppressive one in 1900, demanding much larger outlays. It was approved by an everwilling majority under the leadership of the Centrum and by infringing the rights of the Reichstag. The year 1899 saw the passing of the five-year military bill, with an increase of the army of over 19,000 men and corresponding increased expenses.

During the long session of 1901-3 the battle began on the new tariff which was adopted on the night of December 13-14, 1902, with a two-third majority, after this majority, led by its president, trampled justice and law under foot and resorted to the most illegal means to overpower the minority.

This new tariff is in our eyes a product of unlawfulness and of barbarism. It is illegal on account of the manner in which it was brought about; it is barbarous on account of the duties which it imposes, especially on the necessities of life, thereby plundering and robbing the large majority of the nation for the benefit of a privileged few.

By reason of this new tariff all treaties of commerce for German industry and of farm products needed by the large majority are excluded.

As the decided upholders of a policy of commercial treaties, that facilitate as much as possible the interchange of goods and means of civilization with all the nations of the earth, we are now compelled to oppose decidedly all treaties of commerce that are concluded upon the basis of the new tariff, and that injure our commercial relations with foreign nations and the living of the large mass of the people.

Voters, it is for you to decide at this election whether you will continue to sanction a policy of plundering and robbing the masses in the interests of the privileged classes.

But this is not the only question; a number of others will come up during the next five years.

Despite the enormous armament of the nation on land and on the water, kept up during the last decades—a policy in which Germany leads and outstrips all other nations; and although the army and navy equipments and the expenditures connected therewith swallow up more than 1,000 million marks a year, there are still more armaments, with corresponding expenditures, in sight.

The five-year military law expires in 1904. A new and large military bill is ready to follow. Also has a new Navy bill been announced.

Thus Germany is the first nation responsible for the evil of there being no end to the armaments, and that the nations of the world are racing for supremacy in this respect—a policy under which the people cannot choose but break down.

It is years since France reached the end of its tether in point of men, and her taxes and debts rise immeasurably, similar to Russia, which in the East has overloaded its stomach and needs time to digest. To this is added her increasing financial difficulties, the misery of the peasants, the fermentation from within which within shortly must make it impossible for her to start a great war.

Moreover the prospect of a financial and social catastrophe, which would be the inevitable consequence of a European war, prevents all the great states from throwing the torch into the powder magazine less they provoke their own downfall.

This, notwithstanding, the German Empire is ever pushing and driving toward new armaments.

Voters, this must be put an end to!

It is for you now to utter many million strong "Enough!" and to fling the answer into the face of our ruling classes.

Together with the army and military expenses, the expenses rise for the colonies, whose development is a sorrowful one and who cost as much as they bring in. But the other needs of the Empire rise also from year to year, although they are held back with might and main as a result of the low state of the im-

perial treasury. As a consequence, the necessary raising of the pensions for military invalids fell through for want of funds. The existing ebb in the treasury of the Empire set in, although the burden of indebtedness that weighs upon the country has risen to 3,000 million marks, with 100 million marks interest a year since 1888, the year in which the present Emperor commenced his reign. While the income from duties and indirect taxes has increased from 235 million marks in 1878 to 900 million marks.

Aye, it is ascertained that even the increased incomes expected from the new tariff, and which will run up to more than 200 million marks, will not suffice to cover the deficit of the next year.

A considerable increase of the tax on beer and tobacco and also a tax for military defence, the latter of which is especially popular in the Centrum circles, will be introduced if a majority similar to the previous one re-enters the Reichstag.

The same class and parties that steadily boast of their patriotism and who charge us with having no country, refuse emphatically to draw upon the large incomes and fortunes for the support of the Army and Navy; at the same time they consider it patriotic and just shamefully to load down the poor classes with tariffs, indirect taxes, and other such favors of all sorts.

Voters, the day when the property classes in the Empire will be compelled to defray the Army and Navy expenditures by taxes on their incomes and fortunes there will be no more such appropriations. Their patriotism then suffers shipwreck, and the superfluity of these armaments will then be in evidence.

In the separate states of the Empire the financial stress is the same; they no longer know which way to turn. The most pressing requirements of civilization are left to pine, but for an armament funds are promptly raised, as though millions were dirt.

Voters, if such conditions do not finally snap the thread of your patience, you must not wonder if instead of being whipped with switches you are next whipped with scorpions.

And how is it with our internal concerns? The most pressing reforms in the administration of law, the most necessary social reforms, the extension of old age pensions for workmen, thoroughgoing measures of public sanitation, are all met with the answer, "That costs too much money."

The press, trades organizations, public mass meetings, associations of workmen, the personal freedom of the male and female citizens are all treated as though Germany stood not on one of the highest, but on one of the lowest stages of civilization.

There is but one thing to be done:

To fight and fight against all those who are responsible for this unhallowed state of things, until they are overcome. Above all, it is the duty of the working class, who suffer heaviest under these evils, to support the Social Democracy with all their power in its struggles against the enormous injustice that the state and society perpetrate every day!

The women, also, especially the working women, who are deprived of political activity in the exercise of their rights as human beings, have every reason to come out for the candidates of the Social Democracy, so as to help solve the questions whose solution will depend upon the pending elections.

If they cannot vote they can always agitate. They must oppose openly and in behalf of their most sacred interests the agitation of all sort that is conducted against them even though the abuse of the pulpit and the confessional.

The Social Democracy battles to the end that the state and society cease to be class institutions, through which the ruling minority keep the majority in subjection, dominates, oppresses and plunders them.

Voters, to the ballot box!

Election day should be a day of judgment; it should be a day to settle accounts with those who hoodwink and rob you; it should be a day of victory from which a new and more beautiful future shall take its date.

Consider that by decree of a reactionary Reichstag's majority you are called upon only every five years to the ballot box. How seldom does such a day fall to your lot. Make use of it. Make use of it in such a manner that you can all say with a clear conscience, "We have all done our duty!"

Voters, our adversaries are running about headless, looking for a campaign cry. We have ours. Let your rallying cry be:

"Down with Militarism and Navyism in its present form, which sucks up the substance of the people. Let there be good understanding among nations! Let there be peace among them!"

Down with a harmful policy of tariff and commerce which injures millions of people in their living!

Down with a policy of taxation which oppresses the poor and favors the rich!

Down with reaction in internal matters; with governmental arbitrariness;

with privileged; with police oppression; with insecurity of rights!

On to the battle for progress in all directions, for knowledge and enlightenment, for freedom and emancipation from all oppression, that the class state, class rule and class legislation have put upon the shoulders of the hard working working class.

Our aim is the establishment of the Socialist state and social order, founded upon collective property in the means of production and of the duty of all to work; the establishment of political and social conditions in which truth, justice, equality and the welfare of all shall be the standard of all action.

Voters, whoever among you shares our views let him vote on June 16 for the candidates of the Social Democracy.

Berlin, April 30, 1903.

[Here follow the names of the Social Democratic delegates to the Reichstag.]

THE EMIGRANTS.

(Continued from Page 1.)

strength and when one is worn out and sick one will have to come home to father and mother only to die. Yes, that is what four lassies have done in my country place. And then I thought it was best to go away."

I saw that she was almost the only one that did not have any flowers, and asked her if she did not have any friends and loved ones at home that had given her roses and lilies and other flowers and green oak leaves.

"They have withered on the way from the inner parts of Halland," the girl said, and there came a tear rolling and a sorry smile went over her fine lips.

At the big mast there stood a young farmer from Smaland. He went because all his relatives had gone away before him, and a young man from the vicinity of Falköping went because he could not get a loan so as to be able to buy a little house.

At the skylight over the machine there was sitting a lot of girls from Nerke. They all had their best fellows out there in the far off country, who had sent them tickets, and they all looked very radiant and happy.

Aft I went with a Jemtlaening. I have never seen such hatred as shone from his eyes when he related how the companies had spoiled the vast, beautiful forests, and bought the farms that were now standing wasted, giving neither straws nor grain.

"We will leave Jemtland, the whole Norrland, all of us, so that there will be no more people left, and the devils that have exploited us and driven us off from our farms will see what there will remain."

And then the young farmer from Norrland spoke of how miserable everything was out there, where formerly the fine, fertile farms had shone and fringed in the shelter of the forests that the companies had robbed by means of whisky and false documents.

Wherever I came in the great deck with its human load, I met the same words, the same distrust as to the future and home in Sweden, the same radiant hope of happiness and good luck in the far off country.

Farthest off in the aft deck there sat an old, old woman from Vislanda in Smaland. Four sons she had in America and three daughters and for years and years she had remonstrated against this journey and had desired to die here at home. So, once, had all the children sent their good wishes and said that now they all were well off, and now they wanted that mother should come over there and die among them.

And then she had gone, with her seventy-six years, from the old, beloved Sweden. Now, she sat alone among all the radiant youths on board and she had none to wave her farewell to and none to say a hopeful word to. Now, the boat went off. Then the old woman rose, took off her headgear and waved it against the sorrowful people on shore. And when the hurrahs had subsided for a moment the old woman cried out over the mass of the people: "Bring my good wishes to old Smaland and old Vislanda—and tell them that they take good care of the rose bush on the little garden lot at home!" And then she commenced to cry copiously, and then they hurried on board again.

I felt it hard going home that day.

Fredrik Brand.

Open Air Meetings of Section Chicago.

June 27—Ninety-second and Commercial.

June 30—Madison and Green.

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Organization Committee, D. A. No. 19.

An important meeting of the Organization Committee of District Alliance No. 19, S. T. & L. A., will be held on Friday, June 26, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 26 Monroe street, Lynn, Mass. All members must attend, as business of much importance must be transacted.

Francis A. Walsh, Secretary.

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A witty satire by Paul Lafague.

Militarism and The Workers

A consideration of the militia question, by D. Ross.

Literature and the Party Press

A discussion of Socialist publications, by Olive M. Johnston.

The Kishineff Massacre

A translation from revolutionary Russia, dealing with the bloody events.

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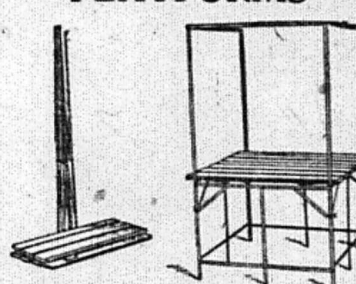
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An Article on the

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This book, which was widely noticed in France, is a scholarly and, at the same time, an attractive presentation of the status of Israel among nations, from the beginning of the Christian era down to our own days